THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

# THE IMPORTANCE OF NATIVE MUSIC CULTURE IN EDUCATION AT A MANITOBA OJIBWA RESERVE FROM AN ETHNOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

BY

Ⓒ MARK YOUNG LEA-McKEOWN

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# DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my wife, Anne McKeown, and to my children, Esther, Iris, and Adrian, who have supported my research and demonstrated patience and understanding throughout the years.

# ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study was to investigate the importance of current musical practice on an Ojibwa Indian Reserve, relating this to the provision of music education.

Ethnological research methods were used among the research population with the researcher becoming a participant observer in the community and at the school. Additional information was obtained through interview questionnaires concerning musical practice and the people's perceptions of native music and music education.

The findings of the study indicate that fiddling and jigging are the current musical practices on the reserve, these being considered native music by the majority. The adults desired these cultural items to be reinforced and continued in music instruction programmes developed for children.

The children exhibited a partial disengagement from the musical culture of their environment. None actually played the fiddle although they actively participated in jigging. The majority of children expressed a desire for guitar instruction in school.

The school has recently implemented music classes for elementary grades, the content presently consisting of singing with musical concepts introduced through that medium. The music curriculum does not follow the Manitoba music curriculum guide and the teachers are not music specialists, being assigned to their positions rather than being musically qualified.

The music curriculum, oral in the community and formal in the school, is not fulfilling the expressed mandate of the people 'to continue Indian culture' and 'to give the children an interest in music.' The community curriculum, although largely native in content, is not motivating the younger generation to seriously embark into fiddling. The school programme has no observable native content and contributes little to the child's understanding of his heritage in music.

The fiddling traditions of Ebb and Flow are becoming defunct. A carefully implemented music curriculum with trained personnel acting in concert with skilled community musicians is suggested as a solution to the problems of poorly motivated children and the loss of valued cultural items. Such a curriculum could stimulate the child's pride in his heritage, forming a familiar foundation from which to explore other musics.

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

"As many as one in twenty Grade V students in Manitoba receive no musical instruction in school." (Special Reports, 1986;9)

This dismal statement reflects the status of music education throughout the Province of Manitoba, not only in Indian schools. One can only wonder at the quantity and quality of music education in schools where music may not be a priority, where music specialists are few and far between and where budgets are directed toward more pressing concerns.

Traditionally music has played a pervasive and functional role in native American society, in daily life and in religion. Individual and group activities, ceremonials and rituals, routine chores and entertainment were all accompanied by song, dance, and instrumental music. With the advent of the twentieth century and the changing patterns of native life, this traditional music has altered dramatically.

These changes which are a normal part of ongoing cultural development encompass alterations in the musical inventories of cultural groups; changes in traits characteristic of Indian music: and change in the aural shape of music so that tonal quality alters.

(Johnston, 1981:41) All these are musical changes. Other changes include those of the function of music, the uses of music and of who participates in musical events. The causes of such change and the response that it elicits in a cultural group are many but the end result is that native American music is not now what it was one hundred or fifty or even, perhaps, twenty-five years ago.

Even while changing, many Indian groups have maintained a musical culture that is uniquely their own, one with which they and their children can identify. These modern manifestations of Indian culture may or may not retain elements of the traditional but are still a positive and real facet of the culture in which they are found. They form part of the society's lifestyle and as such are worthy of inclusion in culturally relevant education programmes.

In this era of shrinking budgets and cost constraints, music may not be a priority in any school programme, and possibly even less so in an Indian education programme where it might be expected that emphasis would be placed on skills for integrating the Indian into a multicultural society. This writer maintains that culturally sensitive curricula should find a place for music that the Indian finds relevant in and pertinent to his own cultural milieu. Research into this area could provide valuable information and generate recommendations for developing music and other educational materials for this particular group.

Discussion with native leaders and educators has uncovered a keen interest in the field of music and music education although there is some indication that today's students are more interested in modern western musical genres (Lea-McKeown, 1984) and in doing what their peers are doing (Howard, 1983:81) than in either returning to the music that was once part of their traditional culture or the music that their elders participate in at home today. Native educators have expressed the opinion that music education is of some importance in maintaining native culture, and more particularly, the values that underlie that culture. Jack Norton, a Hupa Indian, writes

> The Native Americans are a proud people who have kept their identity. . . We, as a people, must cleanse ourselves of the inane materialism of today and reaffirm the roots of our existence. . . we must once again know the ineffable order of the uncreated Creator. All things, life and its natural elements, should interact with no part exaggerating or dominating the whole. (Norton, 1975:30)

Such a philosophy does not advocate a return to tipis and tom-toms but to the values that lay beneath the material culture, values that are not held to any great extent in modern society. Music was an integral part of that culture. It emphasized and upheld such values and thus is worth continued investigation.

## The Problem

This study proposes to investigate current musical practice in the Ojibwa reserve community of Ebb and Flow, Manitoba. It will examine the importance of music in Ojibwa culture in the past and attempt to discover if there is an 'Native Indian' musical culture on the reserve today that can be related to music programmes in schools attended by native children.

## Sub-Problems

1. To review and report the significance of traditional music in Objibwa society in Canada and Manitoba in general and at Ebb and Flow Reserve in particular.
2. To identify current musical practices in the Ebb and Flow community that can be associated specifically with the people of the area.
3. To assess the importance of current musical practice in the Ebb and Flow community.
4. To identify the musical educational needs of the people and relate these to educational practice in the school.

## Research Questions

The following research questions will require answering.

1. What music is practiced at Ebb and Flow that can be identified as 'the music of the people'?
2. Are there any music education programmes available to serve the needs of the native people?
3. Do the people of Ebb and Flow perceive music education as needing to be socially relevant?
4. Does current musical practice on the reserve have any implications for local school music programmes in the light of answers to the above three questions?

## Purpose of the Study

This study was conducted in order to investigate the importance of music in the life of native people today and to relate this to the provision of music education for these same people. The vitality of past musical practice was explored as revealed in the literature and current practice examined. The viewpoint of the people concerned was presented in relating current practice to the provision of music education.

## Significance of the Study

Until recently, it appeared to be assumed by many that, for a number of reasons, economic, cultural and musical, specific native cultural groups were both losing the music specific to their group and were not developing any alternative that could be identified with them. Nettl wrote in 1967

> But while little traditional music and dance can now be observed on the Blackfeet Reservation, these arts today have a new and important role - though no doubt a temporary one - in the life of the Indian community. (Nettl, 1967b:309)

Ten years later he discusses the impoverishment of North American aboriginal music

> Some North American Indian Plains cultures once had a vast quantity of religious music; today there is little of this, but instead, much music for a small number of social dances. The total traditional repertory of a typical Indian tribe now seems to be much smaller, in the number of songs or in number of song types, than in the past. (Nettl, 1978:131)

This perceived loss of traditional musical genres has lead to a situation where the traditional music or the remnants of traditional music are the focus of study. Little attention is given to what the majority of the members of a community are doing musically. The role of traditional music has changed dramatically and is no longer a generalized feature of tribal life but rather a specialized one.

This writer claims that social groups do develop viable musical practices that are specifically their own even though these practices may initially have been the result of transculturation. As such, these musical practices are worthy of study and of introduction into educational programmes which are, today, the most realistic means of preserving and propagating them. Should such music culture not be reinforced it too will go the way of 'traditional' music under the ever increasing onslaught of radio, tape and T.V.

Music needs to be examined as a relevant cultural imperative rather than a museum piece to be taken out and dusted off periodically. It is hoped that this study will provide some new ideas about the study of music in a culture without necessarily searching in vain for remnants of the past.

Johnston in Alaska appears to be the only worker who has taken an ongoing and active interest in relating cultural practice to music education in the schools. This study should provide some impetus to the development of relevant music programmes for native students. Thus it will be of interest to educators and curriculum developers as well as to native leaders trying to make educational programmes fit the needs of their people.

The study will help to answer questions such as: Is there a viable musical culture extant in a specific group, the people of Ebb and Flow in this case? Do the people wish this to be continued or have they more pressing musical needs and priorities? Are school music programmes appropriate vehicles for the continuation of current practice?

This study will be of interest to ethnomusicologists, educators and native peoples as it throws a different perspective on music in native culture and education. It may generate programme and curriculum development that would be more relevant and socially useful to the particular group studied and to other native groups.

The study in no way attempts to denigrate the study of traditional forms of music in the society and it may be found that it is this music that holds prior place in the culture. Practice of traditional music then becomes current practice and the above remarks continue to apply to the situation.

## Limitations

For the purposes of this study the following limitations are made.

The study is limited to an investigation of musical practice at Ebb and Flow Indian Reserve at the present time and to any music education programmes available to the community.

## Assumptions

1. It is assumed that transculturation has occurred in the study community in the practice of music. Thus tradition has changed and itself become the new tradition.
2. It is assumed that the role of music in native culture will be further undermined and lost if not reinforced by formal music education in the school and also in the community.

## Definitions

**MUSIC** - for the purpose of this study music means any song, dance or instrumental performance carried on in the society under investigation, for communal or individual purposes.

**TRADITIONAL MUSIC** - is that music presumed to have been part of the aboriginal culture.

**OJIBWA** - people also known as Chippewa or Saulteaux, belonging to the Algonkin linguistic group.

**NATIVE** - for the purposes of this study 'native' means any person of Canadian aboriginal ancestry.

**MUSIC EDUCATION** - any formal, communal or individual programme having as its objective the teaching of song, dance or instrument, or historical and theoretical concepts pertaining to music.

## Organization of the thesis

Chapter II deals with the literature as it pertains to Ojibwa music in general, with music in Indian education, and with a theoretical basis for the study.

After delineating the methodology of the research in Chapter III, Ojibwa music in Canada and specifically in Manitoba is presented in Chapter IV.

Chapter V and VI describe music culture and music education at Ebb and Flow Reserve, Manitoba, while Chapter VII examines these findings, drawing conclusions and recommendations from them.

# CHAPTER II

## REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The literature review will survey material in four areas pertaining to the research problem. These areas include traditional Ojibwa music, Ojibwa music as presented in the literature today, music in native Indian schools and finally a theoretical basis for the study and its methodological direction.

Traditional music in Ojibwa culture is examined in order to provide an understanding of the importance of music in Indian culture in the past and to provide a basis for discussing music today. An examination of music in the same culture today will determine both what is said to occur in Ojibwa culture musically and provide the researcher with some foundation for what he might expect to find in his field work. The third area of the review, music in Indian education, leads directly into the purpose of this study.

### Ojibwa Traditional Music

A review of literature not pertaining directly to music is not particularly helpful in identifying Ojibwa musical practice in Manitoba in the past.

Brother Leach (n.d.) makes passing reference to music on three occasions in 59 Years with Indians and Settlers on Lake Winnipeg (p. 19, 31, and 37). Dunning (1959) only touches on music and dance in relation to ritual and ceremonial life as does Hallowell (1942) on singing in his detailed description of conjuring among the Saulteaux, although the tenor of the latter's text seems to indicate that singing was a constant feature of the rituals. Steinbring (1965) indicates that music continued to play an important part in Saulteaux life but does not elaborate. This paucity of information can only be a reflection of the non-musical orientation of the writers, their interest being in other aspects of the societies under consideration. The silence of missionaries, Brother Leach for example, on the subject may not be surprising in that they were bent on suppressing a pagan way of life of which music was a very apparent and audible part.

In the musical literature, references to Ojibwa music with some notable exceptions are scant and are nonexistent in Manitoba. Stevenson (1973) quotes several early explorers and administrators as having noted the musical practices of the Chippewa. He cites John Long, writing in 1799, as being adopted by the Chippewa and as describing the ceremony and musical accoutrements. (Stevenson, 1973:406) He also comments that Schoolcraft heard much Chippewa music and commented on it in a derogatory manner. (Stevenson, 1973:416) Stevenson also alludes to Johann Kohl's work among Chippewa who described Chippewa song and the mnemonics that pictured them. (1973:418) Thus, as far back as 1799 and throughout the nineteenth century there are some references to Chippewa music in the United

States but it is only at the beginning of the twentieth century that one has detailed accounts of the music of the Chippewa and the Ojibwa in the works of Frederick Burton (1909) and Frances Densmore (1913, 1923, 1934 and 1939).

In the absence of any evidence to the contrary one can only assume that the descriptions of Burton and Densmore accurately reflected traditional practice and tentatively assume that those descriptions can be generalized to include the Ojibwa of Manitoba. In this connection Crawford comments, writing of the Jesuit Relations

> Music is shown in the Relations to be a part of many major events in Indian life. Its role in the Indian cultures described in these early sources was evidently similar to that reported in the more recent studies at the turn of the century. (Crawford, 1967:206)[1]

The work of Burton and Densmore has resulted, especially in the case of the latter, in large collections of musical material pertaining to the Ojibwa (Chippewa) in areas somewhat remote from Manitoba. One can only use these sources as an indication of Ojibwa traditional music in a rather general context.

Densmore worked among the Chippewa of northern Minnesota between 1907 and 1909. She states that the songs collected at Red Lake Reservation are more closely connected with those of the Chippewa living north of Lake Superior. (1910:1) These northern Ojibwa could

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[1] Stevenson comments on Crawford's use of inaccurate versions of musical material. (1973:18)

have closer connections with the natives of Manitoba. Densmore's intent was to preserve the oldest songs and those connected with tribal history, custom and ceremony. (1913:1)
This is again useful in that older material may have retained similarities among different groups while newer items may have developed after the various groups severed contact with each other and migrated to their present day habitats.

Instruments described by Densmore are the drum, the rattle and the flute, with the drum in a number of forms being the most commonly used. The rattle was employed for some Midewiwin or 'Grand Medicine Society' activities and the flute, made of cedarwood, was only used by young men to play love songs. Cooper (1936:7) reports that a bull roarer was used at the Lake of the Woods to bring cold weather in the spring in order to put a good crust on the snow. He also mentions use of a buzzer. Neither of these latter instruments are noted by Densmore, possibly because of their musical limitations or because the Chippewa did not use them. Cooper, giving some substantiation to the continuity of Ojibwa music culture as compared with the descriptions of Densmore, also says that rattles were used by the Midewiwin in conjuring. At Rainy Lake the curing ceremony involved the use of a small hand drum and a cylindrical rattle.

Although the instrumental repertoire was small, Densmore collected over three hundred songs and melodies for both voice and instrument, indicating the prevalence of music in the daily life of the people. Music was generalized in the society. For the Chippewa, song authenticated the relationship of man to the whole of creation of which man, and his social group, were an integral part.

A large number of songs had a connection with reliance on supernatural aid. These songs were claimed to have been obtained in a dream experience although Densmore says that it was apparent that some had been composed for a particular use. In connection with composition she says:

> A spontaneous outburst of melody giving expression to either joy or sorrow does not characterize Chippewa songs; indeed, the nature is more frequently objective than subjective, more often connected with accomplishment than with self-expression. (Densmore, 1913:17)

Songs obtained in such individual experiences were said, in the past, to have belonged to specific individuals but could be sold or given away, thus entering the public domain. Songs were often connected to a factual event and were prefaced and concluded with a speech concerning their origins, thus surrounding the song with an idea that was not necessarily contained in the song itself. The melody was all important in maintaining and transmitting this idea and less reliance was placed on the words which often varied.

Merriam (1967:5), writing of the Flathead Indians, quotes Turney-High as saying:

> A conscientious ethnographer cannot get a compendium of trust-worthy sumesh (guardian spirit) dreams. Only the completely acculturized or untrustworthy will discuss the matter. Sumesh was, and among honest Indians still is, strictly a matter of personal property. . . . No Flathead who sincerely thinks that he has sumesh is going to give this to an ethnographer except under circumstances of extraordinary friendship or filial relation. To ask a Flathead to describe his medicine experience is considered to be an unforgiveable impertinence. Therefore, although the writer has heard several alleged sumesh songs and has been told of some purported medicine experiences, he considers them utterly unreliable. (1937:28)

The situation may have been similar between Densmore and the Chippewa. Landes, speaking of dreams as property, emphasizes the highly personal aspects of the dream experience but adds:

> There are violations of this rule of secrecy, which however are not recognized as such. Thus, before the exercise of the power, as in doctoring, the dream experience must be mumbled over; and again on the war party, the dreams must be discussed. There is constant infraction too because people discuss their dreams with their spouses. In this way the dream material spreads through the community . . . . Though one's dreams do seep out, one's power is never transferred because the supernatural who bestowed the power is associated exclusively with the dreamer. (1937a:115-116)

The songs categorized by Densmore included dream songs, war songs, love songs, mocassin game songs, woman's dance songs, songs to accompany gifts and songs to entertain. Some categories of songs such as those used in hunting did not appear in general use nor did those pertaining to agricultural pursuits. There are also very few songs, except lullabies, connected with children and children's games. There is generally a remarkable absence of any mention of children and their activities. Reasons for these omissions can only be guessed at today.

The paucity of children's songs may be an indication that part of the function of a song was to teach tribal lore and roles in specific situations thus all songs are children's songs in a sense. Another reason for Densmore's seeming lack of interest in children's songs was that, from the Chippewa's point of view, singing and music was serious business, too serious for children. Densmore, however, does not say this and Vennum recommends that songs for the entertainment of children, among others, require special study. (Vennum, 1980:44)

Densmore also identifies a large body of songs as belonging to the ritual of the Midewiwin. This 'Grand Medicine Society' included healing functions as well as forming the basis of the religion of the Chippewa:

> The Mide (Grand Medicine) is the native religion of the Chippewa. It teaches that long life is coincident with goodness, and that evil invitably reacts on the offender. Its chief aim is to secure health and long life to its adherents, and music forms an essential part of every means used to that end. The element of propitiation is also absent from its teachings and practice. (Densmore, 1910:13)

The music of the Midewiwin was used for initiation ceremonies, the making of medicine and its effective utilization. Densmore says that there are several hundred of these songs which are all recorded in mnemonics on strips of bark. These pictures served to present the idea of the song rather than specific words. Howard Norman (1971, 1972) and Vennum (1978) have both done some work in using these song pictures to trace origins and migration patterns of the Ojibwa.

Densmore explicitly omits the collecting of 'bad medicine songs' (1910:20) which she thought better to be left alone.

Burton's (1909) study among the Ojibwa north of Lake Superior and Lake Huron is not nearly as detailed as Densmore's but areas of difference can be detected. Densmore herself makes no reference to Burton's work or, indeed, to any other early workers. Concerning Ojibwa music Burton says:

> . . . music is no mere diversion from the Indian point of view; it is not separated from ordinary experience by being classed as an art, but is a feature of daily home use and necessity. The Indian has a song for everything - his gods, his friends and his enemies, the animals he hunts, the maiden he woos, the forest that sighs around him and the lake that glistens before him, the fire in his teepee, the

> whiskey that excites, the babe in the cradle, his garments . . . every conceivable thing in which he has an interest becomes the subject of a song. (Burton, 1909:6)

Burton's ennumeration includes canoe and visiting songs, funeral, travel and gambling songs. He does mention corn songs as compared to Densmore where the absence of songs concerning planting, gathering and the success of crops has been noted. Two reasons may account for this. Firstly, Densmore was collecting older songs and traditionally agriculture was not part of the Chippewa lifestyle. Secondly, Burton was interested in the musical culture of the people as he found them at the beginning of the twentieth century when they had already adopted a more sedentary lifestyle. Songs of husbandry and agriculture may have been composed in response to a new economic orientation.

These descriptive accounts of music in Chippewa and Ojibwa society do not lean heavily toward explaining the function of music in those societies. Kaemmer (1980:61) suggests that eliciting the functions of music from largely descriptive accounts does not allow for explanation or the discovery of causal principles. He says:

> Scholars have emphasized the cognitive aspect of creating music . . . (which) are no doubt useful in explaining similarities in musical forms and behaviour but are not so useful in explaining differences. Music is an important aspect of human culture, and as such it can be assumed to be the result of both cognitive and social processes.

Taking these remarks into consideration one can try to deduce the function of music in Chippewa society using Merriam's (1964) functions of music. (see Chapter IV) These deductions are not directly supported in the literature pertaining to traditional Ojibwa music as practiced in the past although the literature indicates a very prevalent general use of music attached to every day activities. More recently social processes pertaining to music have received some attention from investigators, ranging from the global viewpoint of Lomax (1968) to the detailed studies of Davis (1972), Asch (1975), Nettl (1967 a & b) and McAllester (1954), but none of these relate to Ojibwa music.

More recent writings of musical practice of a traditional type in Ojibwa society as practiced today indicate the function of music and how it has changed from practice in the past.

## Ojibwa Music Today

> American Indian music in the twentieth century is still integral to almost every Indian activity. Whether it be an ancient ceremony, a social dance, an Indian conference, a tourist attraction, a fair, a graduation exercise, or a political rally in 'Indian country,' there will be Indian music to accompany the proceedings. The music used by Indians today spans a continuum from the most sacred or magical (and restricted) to popular rock and country-western, with traditional sacred and social songs found in between. Indian musical expressions vary from area to area, tribe to tribe, and even from singer to singer, creating an overwhelming diversity of genres and styles. (Heth, 1980:ix)

In spite of the above remarks present day studies in many instances concentrate on traditional music as it is expressed in today's Indian society and largely ignore any musics not considered to be 'native'. A few writers make passing mention of a Christian hymnody having been adopted and also a fiddle/guitar genre. (Draper, 1980)

Works relating to Ojibwa musical practice are those of Parthun and Vennum. Again these have concentrated on 'native' Ojibwa music as it is practised today and have not commented on any other aspects of music in the culture other than to mention in rather general terms the Indians' apparent enjoyment of country and western.

Parthun (1976a) in Minnesota associates the Ojibwa of that area with other Canadian and United States sub-Arctic peoples of Algonkin stock. He details musical style, form and instrumentation as well as material relating to composition, music quality, performers and performances. The role of music is related to religious, ceremonial and social functions. Vennum (1980) is somewhat critical of Parthun's emphasis on peyote songs, his transcriptional inconsistencies and his use of terminology.

Parthun's study provides a source of modern Ojibwa music practice in a community that is somewhat remote from the more northern woodland populations in Manitoba. The Ojibwa of Manitoba migrated into the area at least two hundred years ago and the assumption cannot be made that they have developed in the same ways as once related peoples in other parts of the continent.

Discussing tribal music in North America in more general terms Parthun maintains that the "mainstream of Indian expression not only continues but thrives." (1976b:32) He does not identify any particular group with this mainstream of music nor does he specify what that mainstream is, a traditional or modern form of Indian musical expression. He identifies Indian music, past and present, as functional, to be studied as part of the whole culture.

Vennum (1980) makes a comparison of south-western Ojibwa song form today with that of Densmore's time. He says, "Ojibwa music offers a particularly rare opportunity for such a study, for its songs received considerable attention at an early date." (1980:44) He laments the lack of attention that Ojibwa music has received in the years between Densmore's more and his own. He comments on Burton's ethnocentrism and at Densmore's recording inaccuracies and imprecise use of terms.

Vennum's History of Ojibwa Song Form is less a history than a comparison of two points in time as he is unable to present the changes occuring in the intervening years. The only point he makes about Ojibwa music in general is that it still exists in a modified form compared to that of the early 1900's.

Other writers, Nettl (1967a and 1967b) for example, have done detailed studies of music among tribal groups other than the Ojibwa again concentrating on traditional forms that remain today. Lea-McKeown (1984) found little of traditional music among a Salteaux group in Manitoba, it having been replaced by fiddle/guitar playing and, to a limited extent by a more generalized type of Pan-Indian music.

In relation to Pan-Indianism Howard defines it as "a process by which certain American Indian groups are losing their tribal distinctiveness and in its place are developing a generalized, non-tribal 'Indian' culture." (1983:71) He considers this not diffusion but a selection of specific items which the selectors consider 'Indian' and which sets them apart as 'Indian'. Howard predicts the disappearance of tribally specific musics as this Pan-Indian movement becomes established. Parthun, in contrast, denies the disappearance of native American music.

The above writers and others speak in terms of a very small extant component of native Canadian and American music as it is practiced today. None of them refer to music that might have more meaning to the general society of which the 'traditionalists' form a part. There is no denial that there have been changes in form and style, and function from aboriginal to present times and there is the admission that western genres of music have had a definite influence on the practice of music in Indian society. (Nettl, 1967a & b; Parthun, 1976 b) The question remains: If only a few specialists now practice music when music used to be a pervasive aspect of Indian life, where are the energies of the people now directed? (Kartomi, 1981) The literature does emphasize that traditional music needs to be promoted. Parthun says "Ideally we should learn all we can about the life style, past and present of the American Indians because their music is functional and therefore is understood best in terms of the culture as a whole." (Parthun, 1976b:34) He is discussing traditional music in this context as it relates to education and continues, "For the harried music educator, however, this would be expecting too much." He and others (Elbourne, 1975; Jenne, 1968) maintain however that education is an important route for the preservation of folk and traditional music.

## Music in Indian Education

Bradley, in compiling a bibliography of Indian musical culture says:

> There is a growing awareness in Canada today of the importance and significance of native Indian cultural achievements in the arts. This is particularly evident in educational circles where teachers and students recognize the need to know more about the artistic traditions of our indigenous peoples. This is more than a passing interest. Educational authorities are becoming concerned with the lack of understanding and knowledge, and the dearth of material available for curricula development. (Bradley, 1977:28)

This apparent interest in Indian music education is not evident in the literature, in Canada at least, and even in the United States programmes of music for Indian education have not aroused a lively interest that has been reported. The exceptions to this are the work of Johnston in Alaska and Ballard.

Ballard (1970), a native American musician, says that there are no curricula for music at an elementary level and only a few scattered music teachers specializing in Indian music. He says:

> Teachers and musicologists can help themselves meet new educational and cultural needs if they are confident and bold enough to use Indian music materials with serious intent. We have relied too long on European musical tradition to guide our training and provide our literature. (Ballard, 1970:44)

In the same tenor Johnston writes:

> In predominantly native schools the teaching of western technological process . . . can be justified. But there is little justification for the substitution of White middle-class school music for the colorful festival and potlatch dance songs. . . . (Johnston, 1980:20)

Both Johnston and Ballard advocate the promulgation of tradition through education. Johnston says that:

> Efforts to bring Indian and Eskimo folklore recognition apply particularly to music . . . (because) music is a

> cultural and psychological element which runs very deep in man and thus comprises an important part of ethnic identity; (secondly) in Alaska, traditional music and dance is still in fairly healthy condition: and within the bilingual education program, music is a particularly ideal didactic medium and language vehicle for children. (Johnston, 1975b:6)

The points he makes are well taken and can be generalized to apply to music education among Indian populations anywhere in North America. Again one asks, 'What music?' as it has already been seen that Ojibwa music in this case is becoming a specialty.

Johnston himself answers this question in part in an earlier paper. (1974) He identifies four prerequisites for Indian musical revitalization. These pre-requisites are "a personal lifestyle favorable to that type of musical creativity which is pecularly Indian; a knowledge of traditional forms; self-determined motivation; and a pride in traditional music." (Johnston, 1974:19) The conditions for these pre-requisites appear to be favorable in Alaska and the music education program advocated by Johnston and supported by the state government allows for Indian music as it is practiced today.

Johnston's program envisages a revitalization in Indian music through education and he details the steps to accomplish this. He concludes "the much discussed identity-establishing function should be de-emphasized in favour of fostering a deeper intellectual musical experience which involves not only identification with the accomplishments of the past generations but meaningful personal achievement in the present." (1974:24)

Johnston comments on the educational significance of musical change occurring in the Alaskan communities. "The use of ethnic music is closely related to the concept of ethnic self," (1980:17) and suggests that the use of native music in schools can be used as a bolster against classroom culture shock. He supports the use of music not to establish identity but to provide a cultural background from which the child may face and adjust to the onslaught of a technological society. He does not emphasize using esoteric items from the past but what is practiced in communities today, 'a living reflection of Native Alaska today.' (1980:22) He contends that:

> The teaching of native American music in the classroom should incorporate safeguards ensuring possibilities for musical growth and developing of the heritage serving the well spring. . . . Teaching a petrified musical heritage would be of no avail because it would wane of its own inertia. (Johnston, 1981:40)

The native American music programme should depict the Indian musical culture and how it it changing, allowing students to participate in their own music making from a culturally acceptable foundation.

But as Bradley says, "Ethnomusic studies in Canada have given little attention to native Indian music. In fact, very few in the field of music education are aware of the rich musical tradition of our Indian culture. (1977:28) The material is there but, to date, has been ignored.

## The Theory and Methodology of the Study

The orientation of the writer is that the identifiable current musical practice of a cultural group is the music of that group notwithstanding the fact that it may not have been in the distant past and may not be in the future. "Music is symbolic of culture," (Kartomi, 1981:241), and is thus a part of culture. It has a continuity which evolves and changes even as the culture itself evolves and changes. It is not static, being subjected to influences both from within and from without the society in which it is expressed. (Johnston, 1981) In this sense, no music is traditional. It is part of a continuum and is an expression of a current aspect of culture.

If one takes traditional Indian music as an example, one finds that traditional forms have assumed new functions and have been modified to suit that new function. (Kaemmer, 1980: Nettl, 1967b) Traditional music and the practice thereof now often identifies those so engaged as Indians, with a culture specifically Indian, a function not needed in the past. (Howard, 1983) Traditional music is only such because that is the way it has been defined as having features in common with music that was practiced in the past. Such music may or may not be practiced in the present although what is practiced may have been greatly influenced by the past. Thus it is what is practiced today that is of value to the people whether it be a modified traditional form or a totally new musical genre.

If music is a symbolic continuum then this implies that it is transmitted from generation to generation, that it is part of the enculturation process. Jenne says, "Tradition means transmission, perpetuation of norms, customs, etc. as the expression of particular historical, cultural, and social conditions or insights." (Jenne, 1968:8) Transmission implies an educational process, be it formal or informal. Jenne insists that if tradition is passed on for its own sake, for its museum value, it is being emphasized for its historical worth rather than in terms of its own worth. Education should present items in terms of their own worth. He continues:

> Beyond the purveying of necessary accomplishments and skills, music education can only mean surrendering oneself to diversity and trying to understand the different expression of human creativity. It is not interested in the historicity of the music but in how it measures up to current standards and relates to the present. (Jenne, 1968:15)

It is music today that is studied for its values. "Tradition is worth as much as its present statement. It is not preservation as a monument that traditional music requires, but actualization in the musical consciousness." (Jenne, 1968:16)

The tenor that Jenne maintains is one that pervades the philosophy of music education today. In the past, music education has been justified in "the fact that the aesthetic development of the individual influenced behaviour in such a way that a better citizen (in terms of cultural, civic, religious, or other values) was expected to be developed." (Mark, 1982:15) Today, however, music education is based on a philosophy of aesthetic development of the individual without necessarily expressing the value of that person to society. This being so, what music should form the content of music education programmes?

If music education is to be directed toward the aesthetic development of the individual then a broad exposure to music is indicated and where better to start than with the music with which the child is familiar, this often being an ethnic music. Trimillos says: "The importance of ethnic music is generally acknowledged as a way to meet the recognized need for expanding the breadth of musical experiences in the schools." (Trimillos, 1972:90)

One is now speaking in terms of ethnic music rather than traditional music. Ethnic music may indeed be the current expression of the traditional music and, again it may not. It may be the result of any number of changes termed transculturation by Kartomi who writes:

> The final stages of transculturation are reached after the tensions between two or more musical cultures have interacted and been resolved into a new unity, through successive generations. Such musical interactions creatively unite and transcend the partly antithetical parent musics to create a new, independent style or genre that is accepted in its own right by the relevant group of people as being representative of their own musical identity, whereupon the processes of musical transculturation begin all over again. (Kartomi, 1981:254)

The music of a group is a contemporary music as Trimillos states and as such is of value in education:

> Ethnic music is by nature a current music - it belongs to real people. . . . The fact that ethnic music is contemporary and at the same time tied to an identifiable group of people makes it appropriate and of interest to today's students. (Trimillos, 1972:90)

Thus the current musical practice of a social group is an acceptable means of initiating a child's musical development. Trimillos does not advocate the use of only one ethnic group's music but to start with the familiar and work toward the unfamiliar is an acceptable, indeed essential, educational practice.

The investigation of current musical practices in a social group and their potential relationship to educational practice is the thrust of this study and thus the means of investigating musical practice as seen in the literature will be discussed.

## Background to the Methodological Focus of the Study

In order to indicate an appropriate ethnological viewpoint the pertinent anthropological schools of thought will be surveyed. Direct field work was a feature of many if not most of anthropological studies among Indian cultures whether the researcher was of the historical particularist orientation, the structural functionalist school or a culture materialist. However, the ethnological viewpoint demands a 'holistic' view of the society studied whereas some of the other schools tended to focus on detail specific to their field or their orientation and ignored much of value that could have been contributed to their work.

Music had been included in the comprehensive ethnographic studies of societies by workers such as Franz Boas in his work among the Central Eskimo (1888). Boas did not detail how he collected this musical material or if he actually recorded it, but he includes numerous examples of Eskimo traditional music in his monograph.

The Boasian view of man and culture appeared at the beginning of the twentieth century. Boas was a contemporary of the evolutionists of the time, Tylor, Morgan and others. One has to examine both his background and the cultural milieu of the time in order to understand why he developed a different emphasis in the study of anthropology than did his contemporaries.

Evolution contained four basic assumptions:

> Man was part of nature, operating according to the laws of the universe. Second, they assumed that the natural laws governing development were unchanging through time as exemplified in the geological principle of uniformitarianism. Third, evolutionists accepted the idea that natural processes tended to move progressively from a simplicity to a complexity, from the unorganized to the organized, from something that was lesser to something that

> was better. Fourth, in the evolutionist view, men throughout the world held similar potentials but differed basically from each other in a quantitative development of intelligence and experience. (Vogt in Darnell, 1974:344)

The evolutionists had defined the essential process of reality in terms of thought, a universal process. Civilization was marching onward and upward and historical events were largely ignored in the search for universal laws.

Boas felt history to be vitally important. The particulars of man's life on earth should be investigated as to how and when and where they were connected. Perhaps there were general laws but these would not be discovered in the processes of the human mind but rather in historical processes which could be hypothesized and for which supporting data would have to be searched. This emphasis of Boas on historical reality has influenced the trends of anthropological thought for much of the twentieth century.

The actual scope of Boas' work was immense. He was a teacher, had museum curatorial duties both in Berlin and New York, was a theorist on museums, an organizer of expeditions and a prodigious writer and fieldworker. (Lowie, 1937:130) He investigated language, physical anthropology, made some archeological contributions and was a descriptive and theoretical ethnologist.

In his field work he accumulated large numbers of facts in great descriptive detail. He was a stickler for fact, insisting on accuracy in their collection and demanding that an ethnographer should attempt to learn the language of the culture he was studying or at least get a good translation or interpretation. Boas was not the first to do field work but he did lay a sound basis for the conduct of fieldwork as opposed to the general way in which the evolutionists used data that was second or even third hand. The writer thinks that this is one of the chief lessons that Boas has for us today, that is to get back to down-to-earth basic field work.

In evaluating the position of anthropology at the beginning of this century, Boas repudiated the "metaphysical presuppositions that prejudiced the study of man and culture alike. In the place of the psychogenic history of the evolutionists he demanded a verified 'scientific' history." (Voget in Darnell, 1974:347) This could only be discovered by detailed descriptive studies of cultures, the why of cultural development as seen in the life of the culture itself rather than in any world-wide 'psychic unity' or mental process or the discovery of universal laws. Such laws might exist but these would only come to light through historical, factual study of a culture. Boas himself said:

> The evolutionary method was based essentially on the observation of the sameness of cultural traits the world over. On the one hand, the sameness was assumed as proof of a regular uniform evolution of culture. On the other hand, it was assumed to represent the elementary idea which arises by necessity in the mind of man and which cannot be analysed, or at the earliest surviving form of human thought. (Boas in Darnell, 1974:267)

Such ideas are highlighted by the ongoing controversy of the time over the diffusion or parallel development of cultural traits. Boas was willing to discuss the matter in a scientific manner through verifiable data but not just for the sake of theoretical argument.

> It is evident that this fundamental question cannot be settled by the continued discussion of general facts, since the various explanations are logically equally probable. It requires actual investigation into the individual history of such customs to discover the cause of their present distribution. (Ibid, 268)

Herein lay the basis of much of Boas' work.

Boas was opposed to the idea that any factor such as geography, environment or economics determined the development of culture. Such elements were only part of a larger picture of culture which could only be really understood by its own particular past. No generalizations could be made. "It is of very rare occurrence that the existence of like causes for similar inventions can be proved as the elements affecting the human mind are so complicated, and their influence so utterly unknown, that an attempt to find like causes must fail or will be a vague hypothesis." (Boas quoted by Lowie, 1937:146) "Similar phenomena may occur because they are historically related or they may arise independently on account of the sameness of the mental structure of man." (Boas, 1911:167)

He did develop historical relationships between cultures and in continuous areas but always insisted on factual evidence. Having done this, he then went on to try and discover how and why the connection had occurred. Thus the basic data of the evolutionists was not enough for him.

> Supplementary data on the way in which the individual reacts to his whole social environment and to the differences of opinion and of mode of action that occur in primitive society and which are the causes of far reaching changes, is needed. (Ibid. 151)

No longer could one collect isolated facts and compare them. Only the whole web of social interaction was sufficient to comprehend and explain culture. Culture was an integrated whole.

Furthermore, Boas only compared like phenomena rather than isolated items taken out of their cultural context. He says:

> Culture may be defined as the totality of physical reactions and activities that characterize the behaviour of the individuals composing a social group collectively and individually in relation to their natural environment, to other members of the group itself and of each individual to himself. . . . The mere enumeration of these various

> aspects. . . does not constitute culture. It is more, for its elements are not independent, they have a structure (Boas, 1911:156)

His view on the primitive mentality was also different to those of the evolutionists. Tylor and others postulated an inherent irrationality in the savage. Boas asserted that both civilized man and the savage were irrational in that both tended to accept tradition blindly. Civilized man is only more rational in that "the tradition of our civilization has become progressively more scientific." (Ibid. 204)

In reference to the mental ability of primitive man, he says:

> Our brief consideration of some of the mental activities of man in civilized and in primitive society has led us to the conclusion that the function of the human mind are common to the whole of humanity. . . . According to our present method of considering biological and psychological phenomena, we must assume that these have developed from previous low conditions, and that at one time there must have been races and tribes in which the properties here are described were not at all, or only slightly developed; but it is also true that among the present races of man, no matter how primitive they may be in comparison with ourselves, these faculties are highly developed. (Boas, 1911:143-144)

Boas also repudiated the generally accepted premise that modern Western cultures were superior to primitive groups in other ways.

> It is obvious that the history of industrial development is almost throughout that of increasing complexity. On the other hand, human activities that do not depend upon reasoning do not show a similar type of evolution. (Ibid. 172)

Examples of such activities are the complexity of primitive religion, art, language, and social obligation. In rejecting any kind of determinism, he also found racial factors as cultural determinants, unacceptable.

Critics of Boas and his work never fail to mention that, in spite of his vast accumulation of data, he avoided any theoretical synthesis in his work. Lowie (1937) suggests that this may have been because he felt that all the data was not in and therefore left things open. Other criticisms are that he, over a period of years, changed his position several times but never really gave a reason for doing so.

Harris (1968) summarizes these changes as follows. Initially, Boas thought that his particularist studies would lead to the discovery of cultural laws but found this to be false. He then shifted to a position indicating that the inherent properties of the human mind rather than a uniform cultural context were important in the occurrence of similar institutions in the world.

> I do not mean to imply that no general laws of development exists. On the contrary, the analogies that do occur in regions far apart show that the human mind tends to reach the same results, not under similar, but under varying circumstances. (Boas, 1948:341; orig. 1910 quoted by Harris, 1968:278)

The third stage of Boas' work indicates a rejection of any possibility of "lawful evolutionary regularities", further comparison being a waste of time. A more fruitful field of study would be the individual psyche and its relationship to the forms of culture.

> It should be clearly understood that the historical analysis does not help us in the solution of these questions. . . . An error of modern anthropology, as I see it, lies in the overemphasis on historical reconstruction, the importance of which should not be minimized, as against a penetrating study of the individual under the stress of the culture in which he lives. (Ibid. 281)

However, he still maintained that the history of particular cultures was the only way to study individual phenomena. This emphasis on the individual anticipated a new field, that of culture and personality.

In all his work Boas refused to generalize or speculate. Lowie says:

> Those ethnologists who crave bold generalizations are certainly doomed to disappointment. Boas' greatness lies not in the systematic elaboration of facts, but in his independent approach to that material, his novel classification of it, his capacity for defining problems hitherto undreamt of, his insistence on a methodologically rigourous solution. (Lowie, 1937:155)

The Boasian school, a term which his students never accepted, held that men and culture were parts of a complex interaction. Man,

> though subject to the conditions of his cultural environment, which imposed severe limitations on the range of individual choice and action. . . . nevertheless interacted with his cultural environment, adapted to it selectively, influenced it at times and even transcended it in deviant ways. (Radin quoted by Voget in Darnell, 1974:348)

Such a position could be seen as early functionalism but the Boasians did not accept the structural determinism which functionalism implies. (Ibid. 349)

Paul Radin, a student of Boas, belonged to the same school of thought seeing history and historical relationships as important in the development of culture but never tieing the individual down to his past. His emphasis on the individual and individual behaviour as the core of investigative efforts pervades his work, particularly his study of the Winnebago Indians. Rather than study many groups superficially, he concentrated on one group in depth, thus showing very clearly to the outsider what life in primitive society was like.

Radin's main debt to Boas was the attainment of an intellectual independence which then allowed him to go his own way. He was one of those to incorporate current and social and psychological theories into his work.

Radin also realized that the ethnographic record was coloured by the culture and personality and intellect of the ethnographer.

He believed that "ethnology is the study of aboriginal cultures." (Radin, 1966:cxvii) and need have no other purpose than that. In other words, it need not be part of the determination of historical processes and cultural dynamics.

Radin, on the fringe of anthropological circles at the time, seems to have pursued his work in some isolation. Not necessarily bitterly, but perhaps because of his position as an outsider, he is critical both of many of his predecessors, including Boas, and of his contemporaries. This criticism is aimed at their dealing in generalities rather than specifics. Concepts replace reality in their work. "We have generalized events and generalized individualities added to a quantitative treatment." (Radin, 1966:60; orig. 1933).

> The (historical) task, let me insist, is always the same: a description of a specific period, and as much of the past and as much of the contacts with other cultures as is necessary for the elucidation of the particular period. . . This can only be done by an intensive and continuous study of a particular tribe, a thorough knowledge of the language, and an adequate body of texts; and this can only be accomplished if we realize, once and for all, that we are dealing with specific, not generalized, men and women, and with specific, not generalized, events. But the recognition of specific men and women should bring with it the realization that there are all types of individuals and that it is not, for instance, a Crow Indian who has made such and such a statement, uttered such and such a prayer, but a particular Crow Indian. It is this particularity that is the essence of all history. . . . (Radin, 1966: 184-185; orig. 1933)
>
> In addition, even if we realize that the history of a culture is unprocurable, no description ever carries conviction unless the recorder is convinced that it had a history. (bid. 177)

In his criticism of Boas, Radin accuses him of presenting facts as a natural scientist without offering any explanation of these facts. Boas' voluminous work on the Kwakiutl Indians is cited as evidence of quantitatively defined facts presented as a scientist would do.

Further, Boas, to disprove the contentions of the evolutionists, needed to demonstrate "that the processes at work in aboriginal cultures were not only those stressed by them, such as development from simple to complex with secondary survivals, but that they were identical with those occurring in every culture." (Ibid. 25) Thus processes had to be studied and this caused the study of aboriginal cultures to assume a secondary importance and to be studied as distinct from western Europe.

Boas, in the absence of known history, fell back on a technique whereby inferences could be drawn from the distribution of culture traits and from analysis of the culture itself. Members of the Boasian School focussed on specific elements and their distribution and forgot to examine those elements in the context of the culture from which they came where they could possibly have shed light on the culture itself. The primary task is to describe a specific culture as it is found rather than discarding elements as insignificant or looking to other areas for similiar traits. (Ibid. 33)

In all, Boas collected facts and analyzed them, avoiding the subjectivism introduced by personal individuals. The results thus obtained turned out to be unsatisfactory and Radin feels that this is why Boas turned to a study of cultural dynamics and processes, another mistake as aboriginal culture is a poor field for this as evidence is scanty and the ethnographer is unfamiliar with the culture.

The chief contribution of Boas to ethnology is that he recorded cultural life as the people of that culture saw it. "If it is our serious purpose to understand the thoughts of a people the whole analysis of experience must be based on their concepts, not ours." (Boas, 1943:314 quoted by Harris, 1968:317)

One of the problems that arose as a result of the dominance of particularism in America was that diffusionism developed into a concept of culture areas which has manifest weaknesses if carried too far. If such culture areas are geographically outlined one can only conclude that culture is geographically determined. If a concept of contiguity is accepted, one wonders where the boundaries lie.

This idea of culture areas arose from that of culture centres which are also vague and indefinite as the centre and its boundaries change, the culture changes and different, though possibly related, cultures are found in the same areas. In all, pure diffusionism, never advocated by Boas, cannot be allowed to stand in view of the complexity of culture.

Another problem of the time was that the Boasians, having had the field practically to themselves, had no strong opposition to provoke discussion and examination of their ideas and thus all tended toward similar errors.

The historical particularists believed that culture itself did not rule man's behaviour although influencing it. A man and culture relationship was, however, evident and the historical school accepted this, some of the Boasian School moving toward a man in culture concept as well as a redefinition of culture and man's relationship to it.

Such a redefinition arose partly out of the necessity to define culture as the anthropologist's field of study, separate from psychology and sociology. "The individualizing trend in historical particularism met with and interacted with the doctrines of Sigmund Freud." (Harris, 1968:393) The connection lay in Boas' belief that cultural anthropology should be the study of man's mental life and the insights of Freud into the human mind.

As a part of the redefinition of culture it was to become a distinct entity. Man was to become an effect of culture and the individual became of less importance. This takes us in the direction of functionalism. However, they

> turned the anthropological stream in the direction of system and integration and laid the groundwork for describing and analysing cultures as unified structures. Their focus on basic social and psychological processes contributed heavily to the climate of thinking that led to culture and personality studies by Mead (1949) and Benedict (1930, 1934) among others. (Vogt in Darnell, 1974:353)

In these studies, man's original nature could only be analyzed in reference to his cultural environment which shaped him into a 'cultured' personality, "temperament alone providing escape to individuality." (Ibid. 354) It should be remembered, however, that in giving up their emphasis on history and tending toward more psychological explanations, the Boasians were only bringing to the fire an aspect of the ethnological record that has always been there but had not been particularly stressed.

Benedict and Mead attributed their increasing psychological bent to the influence of Walter Dilthey who was part of the neo-Kantian movement in Europe. Benedict felt that cultures might be described around psychological traits. "Cultures from this point of view are individual psychology thrown large on the screen, given gigantic proportions and a long time span." (Benedict, 1932:24 as quoted by Harris, 1968:398)

Both Benedict and Mead said it was impossible to identify both individual and culture personality types and Benedict, in her Patterns of Culture, shows how cultures conform to type. Harris, (1968:401) says

> Benedict's configurations emphasize a culture's strain toward consistency. Indeed, the integration and functional coherence of cultural life when viewed from the configurationist perspective constitutes the main theoretical pretension of Benedict's work.

Benedict, disatisfied with the diffusionist approach sought an explanation for the integrity of culture and "psychologist patterns and configurations were a result of this search". (Ibid. 402)

In her culture and personality studies she did not attempt to apply her hypotheses worldwide; she worked with a limited sample and did not look for causes and explanations - all marks of the particularist. "Each culture selects or chooses from an infinite variety of behavioural possibilities, a limited segment which sometimes conforms to a configuration and sometimes not." (Ibid. 403)

Benedict tended to veer away from cultural determinism, emphasizing the individual and non-conforming nature of man. However, in her attempt to make cultures fit one theoretical configuration or another, she tended to ignore or omit data which did not fit. Radin says this is because such detail would cloud the essence of the culture. (Radin, 1966:180) His main criticism of her is that she indulges in theoretical speculation. Harris writes off the early phases of the culture and personality movement as "highly impressionistic and scientifically unreliable." (Ibid. 407) He further criticizes Benedict and Mead in particular by saying that:

> Insight, emphathy, intuition, everyday experience, training as an observer - no matter how highly developed these skills are - provide an inadequate basis for making statements which purport to describe some typical aspect of the personality of the life of millions of human beings. (Ibid. 415)

Radin would agree that Mead mixed much subjective interpretation with her data which, although valuable, was incomplete by his standards.

The culture and personality workers tended not to use from quantitative methods although they would have benefited by retaining them along with their new psychologising.

Later culture and personality studies used standardized tests, and these often resulted in diversity rather than uniformity being the cultural norm. Of such tests Vidich says:

> The use of standardized personality 'variables' . . . particularly where standardized scoring procedures are employed, has the effect not only of imposing a pre-established framework of evaluation on the data but reduced the data to index rather than person units. Once personality data (are so reduced) it is difficult if not impossible to re-establish meaningful relationships between psychological data and social or cultural data in a way that takes account of the historical specificity of particular responses. . . . The reduction of the personality to indices has left the ethnologist in the same theoretical position he was in when he studied abstracted cultural traits. (Vidich, 1966, Introduction to Radin, 1966: orig. 1933)

Mead later used film and tape with some effect in an attempt to make her work less subjective and more verifiable and this use of modern technology may be her most lasting contribution to anthropology but did not help her to be any less subjective.

Initially, then the culture and personality studies owed little to Freud but this situation changed.

> The extraordinary influence of Freudian and other depth psychologies is possibly linked with the heightening of social, political, and economic tension associated with two world wars and the apparently deteriorating prospects of achieving human happiness through socio-cultural evolution. (Harris, 1968:422)

Freud attempted to identify causal processes in cultural evolution in that individuals passed through the same stages as cultures, e.g. infantile to mature. To Boasians, this was rank evolutionism and "they were not about to substitute the phantasies of neurotic patients for a study of actual historical events." (Ibid. 426) Roheim, in Europe, was the only anthropologist to espouse Freud wholeheartedly.

Later, anthropology displayed less resistance to Freudian principles as anthropologists and psychologists found common ground in the fact that they both were part of the intellectual revolt against provincialism, uncovering as they were, the behaviour of other cultures on the one hand and delving into their own cultural behaviour on the other. The anthropologists found the psychological principles attractive if not Freud's evolutionary and psychocultural theories. (Ibid. 431-432) Culture and personality theories enlarged the descriptive interests of ethnology and made some theoretical contributions in the explanation of cultural similarities and differences.

Sapir anticipated this move towards adapted Freudian theory.

> Nearly everything that is specific in Freudian theory . . . may well prove to be either ill-founded or seen in a distorted perspective, but there can be little doubt of the immense service that Dr. Freud has rendered psychology in his revelation of typical psychic mechanisms. Such relational ideas as the emotionally integrated complex, the tendency to suppression under the stress of conflict, the symptomatic expression of a suppressed impulse, impulse, the transfer of emotion and the canalizing or pooling of impulses, the tendency to regression, are so many powerful clues to an understanding of how the 'soul' of man sets to work. Psychology will not willingly let go of these and still other Freudian concepts, but will build upon them, gradually coming to see them in their wider significance. (Sapir, 1949:529; orig. 1921 quoted by Harris)

Abram Kardiner achieved some of this change by eliminating much of Freud's theory, "leaving a method for identifying the reaction of men to the realities of life. Kardiner's contribution was to remove Freud's theories from their culture bound Viennese-European matrix and enlarge the scope of basic experiences which have projective consequences." (Harris, 1968:437)

Problems remained, however, in that the basic institutions of culture such as family organization and childbearing practices remained unexplained by psychological methods even though these had reasonable explanations in historical determinist theory. Neither side was very willing to accept the possibility of what might be called a synthesis of explanation. However, to the extent that anthropology did accept psychology, many functional hypotheses connecting separate cultural entities resulted.

After World War II, the culture and personality movement struck out in new directions in attempts to improve the intersubjectivity and verifiability of its data and conclusions. Harris comments:

> Thus in a remarkable turnabout, the adoption of the basic scientific premise of neo-behaviourism by social psychologists and cultural anthropologists has meant the culture and personality studies once representative of the most broadly humanistic methods of anthropology have emerged in the last decade as paragons of methodological purity. (Harris, 1968:449)

Aspects of this revolution are the neo-Freudian movement initiated by Kardiner, learning theory and a statistical approach to the comparative method. Even so, problems remain.

Neo-Freudian theory has limitations in that it assumes the existence of particular varieties of technology, economics and social organization. (Ibid. 454) and has as yet failed to point out how these institutions and personality differences interrelate in a continuing and self-sustaining way. Further, it is back to the old question of how and why cultures change.

Vidich's remarks concerning the sterility, from a humanist point of view, of the statistic method, have already been cited, and one would tend to agree with him.

The writer's feeling is that such highly sophisticated theoretical methods are all to the good but that the traditional Boasian emphasis on meticulous field work has been lost and the need for it remains if we are to understand how culture works and changes and what causal connections there are. One agrees with Radin's approach of observing a culture from within but one should go further, participating in as much of the people's life and behaviour as possible. Boas opened the door to field work; one should go in and experience what awaits one, looking at specific culture in depth. The field worker should be as immersed as possible in a culture, as a member of the group he studies. This can take a lifetime. Thus while not discounting the contributions of the structural functionalists and the cultural materialists to the growth of anthropological theory, it is appropriate to turn to Wolcott and Maruyama for the final word on ethnographic research. The trend today appears to be a return to an emic, endogamous viewpoint when conducting field work but also includes an objectivity that Maruyama calls 'polyocular' anthropology. (Maruyama, 1978) Wolcott (p. 23) delineates ethnography as the 'science of cultural description' and develops criteria for ethnographic research in schools, in this case. He states that an ethnographic account provides a holistic view of culture in that it focuses on an aspect of culture without disregarding all the other cultural items and relationships that impinge on it.

> The ethnographer wants to record and report not only the interaction he observes but something of the setting, and especially, the meaning the actors themselves assign to events in which they engage. (Wolcott, p. 25)

Maruyama goes further than Wolcott, advocating research of a culture be done by members of that culture. He allows his research team to develop the relevant problem and the means of collecting, recording and categorizing the data. He indicates that 'relevance resonance' or a unity of purpose regarding the research project is essential between the researcher and the research population and that the way to achieve this is by using a research team whose goals are those of the community researched.

Wolcott states that:

> The ethnographer's unique contribution is his committment to understand and convey how it is to 'walk in someone else's shoes' and to 'tell it like it is'. However, he must also attend to how the participants themselves say it ought to be, typically investigating actions and beliefs in a number of categories of human behaviour. (Wolcott, p. 25)

He does not advocate the use of a team suggesting that team members tend to follow their own research interests rather than those of the project. This is exactly what Maruyama avoids in his use of a 'native' research team and in his insistence on relevance resonance.

Wolcott adds a cautionary note to his paper indicating that it is better for the researcher to draw from ethnographical methods than to try and do a complete ethnography which, by its very nature, is very demanding in time and material resources.

The present study, then, is a study of music in a culture from an ethnographical perspective. The researcher will do as much of the field work himself in the study of music in a community and will use ethnographic techniques himself. While acknowledging the probably superior (for a truly emic and endogamous study) approach of Maruyama, this researcher claims that his knowledge of and interaction with the community to be studied will assist him in giving the insider's view in an as emic manner as possible.

# CHAPTER III

## METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

For the purpose of this study, ethnological research methods have been used through participant observation among the subject population, the Ojibwa of Ebb and Flow Indian Reserve. This population is, to a degree, mobile in that it maintains residence both on the reserve and in the city. Thus the research has been based on both locations where socio-cultural activities are taking place. More specifically, attention has been paid to musical activity within a socio-cultural framework in order to gain a perspective on musical practice and its relationship to the group studied and to educational practice in the community.

In recent years native leaders and educators have been pressing for native control of native education, this being one of the most significant developments in the revitalization of a native educational philosophy based on native values and needs. Such an educational trend would hopefully lead to educational programmes unique to the people's own socio-cultural and educational environment within the larger society.

This research was conducted with this in mind. In order to investigate musical enculturation and transculturation, the educational process, within the community, the researcher participated in and observed the socio-musical behaviour of both adults and children in their natural home community environment where the majority of such activities take place. Although it had been thought that there was no formal musical instruction in the school, this focus was assumed to have some use in extracting information about the role of music and dance in the school.

The research delineated a current, inside viewpoint of today's musical behaviour in the community. This formed an appropriate basis for recommendations regarding the development of culturally oriented native music curricula as well as furthering educational research in this specific community and other native communities across the country.

Since the study was to delineate the present day musical culture of the people of Ebb and Flow Reserve and relate this to programmes of music education in the local school, it was decided that participant observation in the community with additional information being obtained by the use of interview questionnaires would be the most fruitful method to follow. It was also hoped to make extensive use of informal interviews with community members.

The data collection and field work has been extended over three phases.

1. 1975 - 1986. As a form of participant observation of the socio-cultural activities and musical behaviour of the members of the Ebb and Flow community, this researcher had life experience over this period with the group.

2. Summer, 1986. Preliminary investigation of the research problem among the people of the community.
3. December, 1986 and April, May, 1987, continued participant observation and the administration of a questionnaire to the people of the community. In order to investigate the children's (grade III-VI) musical environment at home, interview questionnaires have been conducted both at school and at their homes. As this researcher is well known to their parents, co-operation was given.
4. June to September, 1987, confirmation of data in the field.

## Preliminary Investigation

Early work was carried out in the summer of 1986 in order to determine the validity of the research problem and to determine the practicalities of future field work. Past contacts and experiences with some of the research population provided material that indicated that there was a viable, identifiable musical culture at Ebb and Flow Reserve which was different from that of other reserves and not necessarily one of mass produced music.

In addition, the researcher, who had interaction with the musicians of the community over a long period, cemented his relationship with them by performing with them during the summers of 1985 and 1986.

A visit was made to Ebb and Flow Reserve during which time the researcher talked with these musicians and other community residents. These discussions and preliminary observation gave ample evidence that there was a thriving musical culture there and that this was not reflected in the education programme of the local school serving the reserve children - there was no formal music programme in the school. The local musical practices appeared to be so all pervading in daily life that some persons thought it somewhat ludicrous that it should be considered a potential part of a school programme. However, further informal discussion revealed that the community was avid for formal teaching in the technicalities and niceties of instrumental playing to "improve themselves" and their playing and, from this viewpoint, thought that formal music instruction would be well worthwhile. Such enthusiasm gave impetus to a study that might otherwise have been abandoned for lack of interest among those it is hoped to benefit. The presence of a lively musical culture also gave credence to the idea that the musical culture of the people is what they practice today and not any fixed notions of the researcher as to what they have practiced in the past or ought to be practicing and preserving for the future.

These early investigations and past experience also indicated that various persons and institutions needed to be approached for recommendations and permission to conduct a formal research investigation. These are appended to this proposal (Appendix A).

Questionnaires to be used with the study population had also been developed in order to obtain information relating to the research problem. Initially it was hoped that one questionnaire would meet the needs of the research for various members of the population rather than having separate questionnaires for each group, i.e. community members on one hand and students on the other. This was found not to be practical due to the age differences and comprehension levels among younger students. Thus, the adult questionnaire in a simplified form was presented to the students.

## The Research Setting

It was hoped that the work necessary for the study could be conducted during December, 1986 and the spring of 1987 in the reserve community of Ebb and Flow, Manitoba and at the school serving the population of the reserve. Earlier discussion with local (Manitoba) academicians had indicated that Ebb and Flow was a relatively uninvestigated area and that it would be well worth study in a number of areas relating to native culture.

Permission had been sought from the Superintendent of Frontier School Division under whose jurisdiction the Ebb and Flow school falls, from the Principal of the Ebb and Flow school, and from the Chief of the reserve. Permission was granted to conduct research in the school and on the reserve.

Ebb and Flow Reserve is located on the western edge of Ebb and Flow Lake, west of Lake Manitoba and about one hundred and sixty miles north-west of Winnipeg. The population of the community numbers about seven hundred persons.

A new school accommodating grade K - XII and with an enrollment of less than five hundred students, not all from the reserve, had recently been completed in the vicinity of the reserve, replacing an elementary school. Junior and senior high school students previously commuted to St. Rose. The school was closed for the summer during the investigator's initial visit.

As the writer had had previous long time contact with the members of this community, his investigations at the time met with no resistance and were, in some instances, received with considerable enthusiasm. Community members were more than willing to talk about their music experiences and their hopes for their children. This easy access to the community was a welcome respite as native communities have of recent years become mistrustful of, and ill-disposed toward, researchers. In addition, as the investigator was also a musician, acceptance came more readily than if he were there for purely academic reasons. The feeling seemed to be that he could give as well as receive.

## Data Collection

Data collection was in the form of participant observation in the Ebb and Flow community. During December, 1986, members of the research population were interviewed about their musical practice, past and present, and a questionnaire administered to the adults. Observation of musical behaviour, and the occasions upon which music is used, was done both in December, 1986 and April/May, 1987.

The period, also in December, in the school consisted of the administration of a questionnaire relating to the musical environment of the children. It was already known that there had been no formal music programme in the school. The community questionnaire was given to teachers and a simplified form to all children in grades III to VI. Other than the fact that the research interest lay in early music education, these grades were chosen as those being able to complete a questionnaire. Information about children in younger grades was obtained by observation and discussion with teachers and children in April/May, 1987.

The purpose of the study was explained to the teachers of elementary grades in the school and to the students, in simplified terms, and their cooperation gained.

The questionnaires used are appended. (Appendix A)

## Data Organization

Previous experience had shown that Sugden's (1973) methodology allowed for a simple means of organizing data. For each sub-problem the following was noted.

1. The relationship of the sub-problem to the problem.
2. The kinds of data needed to solve the sub-problem.
3. The sources of the data.
4. The methods of extracting the data.
5. The methods of evaluating the data.
6. The methods of organizing the data.

### Sub-problem 1

To review and report the significance of traditional music in Ojibwa society in Canada and in Manitoba in general and at Ebb and Flow in particular.

The solution to this sub-problem provided a foundation for discussion of music in Ojibwa society today. It also indicated possible types of music and functions of music practiced today.

The data required were historical, descriptive and biographical materials relating to the Ojibwa music in particular. Material pertaining to Ojibwa society was also examined in order to provide a background against which musical activities took place. Another source of data was discussions with older community members who might have recalled the musical practices of their elders or of their own childhood.

Data was evaluated for authenticity and accuracy according to standard research principles by establishing the credentials of the author, assessing the knowledge and experience of the writer, the delay between the event and its recording where appropriate, the bias of the author and the consistency of the data.

Initial review indicated that the following lines of investigation would be useful in the collection and analysis of data.

a. Types of music in Ojibwa society, communal and individual.

b. Instruments used.

c. When and how was music used.

d. Who was involved in musical events.

e. The relationship of music to social, political and economic life.

**Sub-problem 2**

To identify current musical practice in the Ebb and Flow Reserve community.

The source to the sub-problem provided data with which one established specific musical behaviours in the community, this being one of the purposes of the study. The data indicated whether or not musical genres and practice had changed in the community from that previously identified as traditional and whether traditional music was a viable factor in the life of the Ebb and Flow people.

Data needs were descriptive, biographical and observational materials related to current musical activities at Ebb and Flow.

Sources of data consisted of observation and discussion with members of the community; a questionnaire to community members; books and journals pertaining to present day musical practices of the

Ojibwa and Saulteaux, especially in Manitoba. As the members of the reserve were already well known to the researcher it was anticipated that a measure of cooperation could be expected.

Data was collected under the following headings which are similar to those in sub-problem 1 but relate to the present.

a. Types of music used at Ebb and Flow.

b. Instruments used.

c. When and how is music used.

d. Who is involved in musical events.

e. The relationship of music to various activities.

f. Is the current practice different to that reported in the literature about Ojibwa groups today.

**Sub-problem 3**

To assess the importance of current musical practice in the community. This enabled one to judge the viability of current musical practice, its value to the people and the need for strengthening and continuing the 'new' tradition.

Data needed and sources for that data were the same as for sub-problem 2. The headings for data organization in sub-problem 2 assisted in evaluating the importance of music to the people. It was the viewpoint of the community to be studied that was emphasized.

**Sub-problem 4**

To investigate the availability of music programmes in the school and to find out if current practice in the community would be an appropriate vehicle to provide, at least in part, music education. It was already known that there had been no formal music education in the school programme but it was not known whether opportunities existed in the community for individual instruction of any kind.

The answer to this sub-problem enabled one to establish whether or not current musical practice could be related to educational music programmes in a way that responded to the people's wishes.

Data required was school curriculum material as recommended by the Manitoba Department of Education under whose jurisdiction the school falls; descriptive and observational material obtained in the community.

The sources of this material were institutional manuals, interviews and a questionnaire administered to elementary students.

Information was gained from teachers and students as to the role of music at Ebb and Flow School, both at the school and in the home community. This will indicate the present musical behaviour and significance of music in the school.

Material obtained was initially handled under the following headings:

a. Music programmes as recommended by the Manitoba Department of Education in Manitoba schools.
b. The content of such programmes.
c. Availability of programmes of group and individual instruction, under the aegis of the school or private, to students of the area.
d. The people's wish for music instruction and the types of instruction.
e. The viewpoint of educators in the school and other educators concerned with native education.
f. Recommendations of native groups concerned with education.

# CHAPTER IV

## OJIBWA MUSICAL CULTURE IN CANADA AND MANITOBA

Ojibwa musical culture in Canada, whether traditional or current, has not been a topic of interest to researchers, most of the work having been done at the beginning of the century among American Chippewa and Ojibwa groups in the United States. More general studies of Canadian Ojibwa are those of Hallowell (1955), Skinner (1911, 1914 a & b), Landes (1937, 1968), and Howard (n.d.) who do not elaborate to any great extent on the musical aspects of the culture they were studying although ceremonial life is sometimes detailed and the accompanying music mentioned. Some investigation into native Canadian Indian music has been conducted by Franz Boaz (1964), Frederick Burton (1909), Bruno Nettl (1967), and Frances Densmore (1910, 1913), the latter being the only one giving detailed accounts of Ojibwa musical practice. Thus, in examining Ojibwa musical practice in Canada, one only has Densmore to whom to refer in order to gain a comprehensive picture of traditional music and its possible significance in society. When discussing Manitoba, Howard (n.d.) and Lea-McKeown (1984) provide some material concerning very localized groups.

The Chippewa in the United States and the Ojibwa or Saulteaux in Canada were an Algonquin speaking group originating along the northern shores of Lakes Superior and Huron. They had been, in earlier times, a semi-nomadic group, hunters and fisherman, who practiced some agriculture, built bark houses and conical wigwams, and were warlike in nature. At the time of Densmore's studies the group known as the Chippewa had already settled in reservations and had had extensive contact with Europeans in the form of traders, the military, government agents, teachers and missionaries. They had become a sedentary people who continued to hunt and still had tribal members who remembered war parties and skirmishes against the Sioux. Their woodland lifestyle had already changed from that of trapping and acting as suppliers and middlemen in the fur trade, an activity in which they had been interdependent with the European. However, they had retained features of their previous life style such as religious beliefs and some musical activities.

The aboriginal religion of the Ojibwa is described by Landes (1968:3) as being characterized by a belief in life "as a personalized mystery. . . . (They) individually strove to locate the founts of mystery and contain them for survival." Densmore points to a belief in health and long life, a state of normalcy that was at one with the equilibrium of nature. Success in life was dependent on achieving a successful relationship with a world which could be spiritual or material, each as real as the other. Music was bonding agent in this relationship. Densmore says, " . . . in every undertaking which the Indian felt was beyond his power as an individual . . . song was essential to the putting forth of more than human power." (Densmore, 1970:63) She explains (1913:15-16) that man supplemented his own inherent abilities and powers with those of the spiritual beings who dwelt in every object on earth. These beings were approached through song. In addition, music was essential to the maintenance of social structures (1910:20) such as the Midewiwin who exerted their power through music and medicine, both of which had to be meticulously correct in order to be efficacious.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Chippewa lived on reservations in much larger groups than the prehistoric hunting clan; they still hunted and also practiced agriculture; they no longer warred against the Sioux; institutions such as the Midewiwin continued, as they have in very modified form up to today; and many of the old religious beliefs still held sway although Christianity had already had a marked influence.

## The Music of the Chippewa

Densmore's descriptions of Chippewa music, and those of Burton (1909) among the Ojibwa, emphasize the importance of music in the life of these people. Her work was very much focussed on music and the occasions when it was used. Music and song to the Chippewa were complete in the context of something external, a story, a ceremony or an event. Thus Densmore's analysis includes a record of the pertinent events and the origin of the song and the uses to which it was once put as well as present uses. Music entered every aspect of Chippewa life and the songs used could either be of relatively recent origin or be very old. These latter songs were believed to have been received during a person's vision quest while dreaming. Originally these had been personal property but had become public by being given or sold to another or by being used in public for the benefit of some other person. Initially, such songs were not considered a source of wealth or approval but as a source of power and a means of communication with the forces that could influence or control human destiny. They were precious personal possessions that were not shared lightly.

Dream Song. Densmore, #97, 1913201.

Transposed by Bierhorst.

Fig. 4:1

For the purposes of this thesis this space contained the notation and words for a Chippewa Dream Song transcribed by Densmore, #97, 1913: 201 and transposed by Bierhorst.

The dream songs collected by Densmore were considered by her to be very old, especially those of the Midewiwin who used music to express religious ideas. Treatment of illness, a function of the Midewiwin, could be by private ministration or public ceremony and the dream songs used were held to contain the directions for procedure and the herbs to be used. The song and the music were directed toward a re-establishment of the harmony between man and nature and a restoration of a condition of health and longevity.

War songs consisted of those invoking supernatural aid, planning and explaining the conduct of the expedition and commemorating success. They were also war songs that surrounded the activities of women and their duties at such times.

Fig. 4:2

For the purposes of this thesis this space contained the notation and words for a Chippewa War Song transcribed by Densmore, #84 1913:188.

By the time Densmore began her work war songs were being used as a means of relating the history of the group and as entertainment rather than for their original purpose. Rykiewich (in Rykiewich, 1968) describes more recent Chippewa powwows and the war dances performed. The ceremonialism he discusses is largely a form of entertainment but he says that this ceremonialism is also contributory to solidarity, cohesion and integration of the group, functions that relate closely to those of the powwows spawned by the Pan-Indian movement.

Another group of songs were those surrounding the moccasin game, a form of gambling of which the Chippewa were very fond. At the time of Densmore's recording these activities had become a focus of social interaction which was said, in earlier times, to have been a means of diverting the people in periods of hunger and need.

Fig. 4:3

For the purposes of this thesis this space contained the notation and words for a Chippewa Moccasin Game Song transcribed by Densmore, #144, 1910:158.

Densmore states that she did not actually hear all the words sung but that the singers maintained that the words written above were correct.

Music had long been the language of love. Chippewa love songs, however, were characterized by a sense of loss and disappointment rather than being happy and joyful.

Fig. 4:4

For the purposes of this thesis this space contained the words and notation for a Chippewa Love Song transcribed by Densmore, #106, 1913:217.

Another means of expressing one's love was through the use of a flute, this instrument being restricted in Chippewa society to young men serenading their loves, using the flute rather than the voice. From a modern viewpoint this was an appropriate choice of instrument as drums and rattles hardly seem to be suitable vehicles for a love song but Densmore does not comment on why the flute was rarely used for any other musical function.

Fig. 4:5

For the purposes of this thesis this space contained the notation for a Chippewa Flute melody transcribed by Densmore, 1913:42.

Other categories of songs described by Densmore include begging dances used to secure gifts, pipe dances, gift songs and visiting songs. There were also songs and dances used as a means of ridiculing persons. It is interesting to note that ridicule was, until comparatively recent times, still used as a means of social control among the Ojibwa. (Howard, n.d.) Densmore indicates that many of the musical items she recorded only had entertainment value at the time of her research.

Another whole group of musical material was that belonging to the ceremonialism and ritual of the Midewiwin. The functions of the music included healing as well as forming a basis for religious practices. An example of a Mide ceremonial song is given below. Densmore claims that most Midewiwin songs contain a strong element of affirmation and of securing a definite result through supernatural power. The example given has an aspect of affirmation and an indication of the awareness of spiritual entities although it does not look for a result.

Fig. 4:6

For the purposes of this thesis this space contained the notation and words for a Chippewa Ceremonial Song transcribed by Densmore, #44, 1910:71 and transposed by Bierhorst.

The following initiation song does give an indication of results to be secured, 'skies bright and clear' as well as anything those may intimate.

Figure 4:7

For the purposes of this thesis this space contained the words and notation for a Chippewa Initiation Song of the Midewiwin transcribed by Densmore, #64, 1910:82 transposed by Bierhorst.

Among the songs collected by Densmore it is difficult to find many that pertain directly to children although she does give examples of lullabies.

Figure 4:8

For the purposes of this thesis this space contained the words and notation a Chippewa Lullaby transcribed by Densmore, #127, 1913:241.

A song possibly used by a young adolescent is the 'Boy's Song Before Fasting' in which the youth prepares himself for his vigil while his grandfather sings the song.

Figure 4:9

For the purposes of this thesis this space contained the words and notation for a Chippewa Boy's Song Before Fasting transcribed by Densmore, #100, 1913:204 and transposed by Bierhorst.

The Game of Silence was a song sung to children who are expected to keep quiet however ludicrous or amusing the words become. The first child to break the silence loses while he who remains silent the longest gets the prizes piled in the middle of the group. This teaches the value of silence at times when silence might be essential.

Figure 4:10

For the purposes of this study this space contained the words and notation a Chippewa Game of Silence transcribed by Densmore, #179, 1913:302 and transposed by Bierhorst.

Densmore also gives some examples of songs sung by both boys and girls when playing at war. As well as being fun these serve to teach each sex their roles in specific situations and this appears to be the thrust of most of the children's songs collected. Densmore herself has collected and adapted adult songs for use with children in schools. (Densmore, 1921) She has annotated these and included suitable actions to be performed along with the music and singing.

The examples given are illustrative of the major themes of Chippewa music. It has been previously noted that hunting songs, agricultural songs and 'bad medicine' songs were either inadvertently or overtly omitted from the collection by Densmore herself. Even so, there is a vast wealth of basic material from which to work should it be found that the Ojibwa do indeed wish to revive their heritage, the Ojibwa in this case being those of eastern Canada. Such traditional music is that that could have been practiced in Canada one hundred to two hundred years ago but in Manitoba the situation may have begun to change during the same time period and this may account for the dearth of Ojibwa music of the kind described by Densmore.

## Ojibwa Music in Manitoba

Ojibwa music in Manitoba and points further west is described by Howard and by Skinner (1911, 1914) but nowhere in the specific detail that is recorded by Densmore and, to a lesser extent, Burton (1909). It is also suggested that the Ojibwa have changed considerably from their woodland orientation as they moved out onto the plains and were influenced by a new economic orientation, by their contacts in the fur trade and by the development of a new group, the metis. As their culture changed it is extremely likely that their music did so too.

Skinner (1911) identifies the groups west of Lake Winnipeg as Plains Saulteaux or 'Long Plains Ojibway.' He also mentions another group, the Northern Saulteaux who live in north-western Ontario and the eastern border of Manitoba. In his description of the Northern Saulteaux there is only passing reference to music as part of the daily lives of the people in the past and none except the use of the fiddle and drum at the time of his own work. He says:

> They have long ceased to hold the old-fashioned dances and now, like the Eastern Cree, dance entirely in the European fashion, to the music of the drum and the fiddle. (Skinner, 1911:142)

Other music and dances were remembered but not used.

Skinner (1914 a) identifies the Ojibwa population of southern Manitoba as 'Plains-Ojibway or Bungi,' a term Howard also uses, and says that they appeared to be already established in the area when Alexander Henry the Younger was there in 1800. Skinner regards these people as affiliated with but distinct from the Ojibwa proper. Among other cultural traits he remarks that a number of songs were remembered from former times, these being songs of returning warriors, the sundance, a scalp dance, songs to affirm victory and songs of defeat. He also ennumerates a number of other dances, many of which appear to have been obtained from the Cree although some had connections with the more eastern Woodland musics. The functions of these songs and dances and the ceremonies surrounding them were those of healing, the fulfilling of a vow, social, and many connected with the buffalo hunt. He says these and the sundance were repressed by the Canadian government and were often only performed at night.

In addition to the rituals of the Midewiwin, Skinner also describes the Windigokan or Cannibal Cult whose function in healing and the exorcism of the demons of disease involved dancing and singing and whistling. At Long Plains near Portage La Prairie Skinner says that a Windigokan ceremony was held for his benefit but that this was unusual as "nowadays these things are not done except for the exorcising of disease." (Skinner, 1919 b:502) The right to be a Windigokan leader was obtained in a dream although other members of the group could be dancers.

Writing in the 1950's and 1960's, forty to fifty years after Skinner, Howard (n.d.) worked among the Ojibwa in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and North Dakota. He gives evidence of traditional musical activities occurring in the area, some of which were recalled by the elders, and others that were still carried on.

Howard also identifies the people as Plains Ojibwa or Bungi who have adapted to a prairie environment taking on Plains Indian features while still retaining some Woodland characteristics, this metamorphosis occurring between 1790 and 1890. Howard claims that the ceremonialism of the woodland culture accompanied the migrant people and became modified. The rites of the Midewiwin became less important while those of the Plains sundance came to the fore. He gives ample evidence of sundance grounds and practices in the 1950's involving Prairie Ojibwa. Furthermore, he introduces another factor in the cultural milieu of the Ojibwa, this being the metis. He says:

> "Two quite distinct ethnic groups make up the Plains-Ojibwa tribe at the present time, the "full-bloods" and the metis. The term "full-blood" is used here in a sociological sense . . . . It designates those individuals who adhere to "Indian" as opposed to "half-breed" ways of life, including language, dances, and forms of worship. . . . This full-blood group is distinctly in the minority.

> The second element in the tribe are the metis. Though basically Plains-Ojibwa, this group has a large amount of French, as well as other European ancestry.
> (Howard, n.d.:9-10)

It is only in association with this latter group that Howard mentions extensive use of the fiddle, saying that the metis look down on the full-bloods and their customs even while living in very close proximity to them. Skinner never gives any indication of fiddle music among the Bungi while insisting that this is the only instrument and music used by the Northern Saulteaux in 1911.

The main thrust of Howard's work is to trace the cultural and economic change that accompanied the move from a woodland to a plains orientation, from a subsistence pattern of hunting, fishing and gathering to a dependency on bison hunting although fish, wild rice and maple sugar still made up part of their diet when available.

The music, dance and ceremonialism of the group reflected this change in orientation with bison symbolism taking pride of place and the incantations and spirit helpers needed for success in the hunt being all important. He cites numerous musical activities as having taken place in the past. In the early 1800's the main annual meetings of the Midewiwin were held at the spring rendez-vous at the trading post. In later times, the Sundance, held in mid-June, became the most important annual ceremonial event and was followed by the bison hunt. At the beginning of winter the Trade Dance ceremony, ensuring a heavy snow fall and thus easy tracking conditions, was held. In the twentieth century, he says that a number of dance societies were remembered and a few still existed. The moccasin game was still known as were other hand games. He participated in a Sundance in 1958 and witnessed another in 1960, many reserves still having their sundance grounds with evidence of recent use. At Turtle Mountain the Trade Dance was still performed and appeared to have the function of confirming culture, gift-giving and the redistribution of goods. Other dances such as the ceremony of the Smoking Tipi, last performed in the early 1940's, and the Sawanoga, a gift giving and adoption ceremony, were obsolete. In contrast to Skinner, Howard gives no indication of government repression of aboriginal dancing and music. He says that the Windigokan is often performed (in the United States) and that it is claimed to have been obtained from Canada where it is possibly still performed. Skinner indicates that this ritual is rarely celebrated.

Howard attended a Midewiwin ceremony at Waywayseecappo Reserve in Manitoba in 1958 where the activities of the society were still directed toward the promotion of health and longevity. Skinner mentions being unable to obtain a Mide or shaman drum specimen while Howard in 1959 was able to do so. This could be an indication of the waning importance attached to the ceremonials and paraphernalia of the Mide. Of the dances that were still performed most had only a social function and entertainment value. However, Howard says that the vision quest and the songs given to the dreamer were still encouraged by the Prairie-Ojibwa during the 1950's.

Among the metis component of the tribes and groups discussed by Howard, reels and jigs danced to the music of the fiddle seemed to be the popular music of the people.

The description of Densmore and Burton thus indicate that Ojibwa music was alive and reasonably well at the beginning of the twentieth century in eastern Canada and the United States. Skinner's reports are somewhat ambiguous, giving evidence of indigenous musics in Manitoba and also denying any aboriginal music among the Northern Saulteaux. Howard gives indications of extant aboriginal music in Manitoba but also says, that much music, although remembered, has become obsolete either in function or both in function and in fact. The functions of music in the past had been numerous but had become very limited in the mid-twentieth century as had the actual music itself.

## The Function of Music in Ojibwa Society

Merriam (1964) gives the functions of music in society as a means of emotional expression, individual or communal; a means of aesthetic enjoyment; entertainment; communication; symbolic representation; physical response; enforcing conformity to social norms; validation of social institutions and religious rituals; a contributory factor to the stability of culture; and a contributory element in the integration of society. The general tenor of the literature is that traditional music no longer has traditional functions in a culture, to the point where its main value is now entertainment and, more recently, as an authenticating mechanism in movements such as Pan-Indianism.

The chief function of music in traditional Chippewa society was the authentication of the relationship between man and the natural world, between himself and the powers of that world. Music emphasized that man was part of the totality of existence. Music also added to the stability and continuity of culture by propagating the lore of the people. This 'return to nature' is a value emphasized today by

Indians interested in revitalizing their culture but whether this can be done by resurrecting a musical culture that was already being used for entertainment in Densmore's time, remains to be seen. The authenticating role that music plays still exists but now it authenticates being Indian rather than being part of the natural world.

Densmore's insistence on melodic correctness representing an idea indicates that music also functioned as a symbolic representation of man's place in a harmonious world. All the songs and accompanying words indicate a deep reverence and respect for nature - a respect illustrated by the poetry of the songs as well as by the music.

Another role of music in Densmore's time was communication. It surrounded the telling of history and the relating of folklore. It also validated social institutions and religious rituals such as those of the Mide and contributed to the continuity of culture even in the face of dramatic change.

The music described by Howard as in use in the mid-twentieth century seems to have retained little if anything of the functions ascribed to the music noted by Densmore. The functions had changed to that of entertainment and music for social functions and even the music itself, what was left of it, had become changed or had disappeared. Densmore herself had little interest in acculturated music. She says:

> My present attitute toward the study of Indian, or primitive, music is definite and is opposed to its becoming highly technical. . . My effort has been to present music from the standpoint of the Indian, . . . the origin has, in all the old songs, been the "dream". Such songs are rapidly passing away and are now a matter of tradition, which adds to the importance of preserving the old songs that have been handed down to the present generation, with the story of

> their origin. . . . Music affected by acculuration, has little interest for me. (Densmore in Hofman, 1968:62)

She continues:

> The old Indians are rapidly passing away and the younger generation do not absorb their information. The old men say flatly that they will not tell the old ideas to the young men. (Densmore in Hofman, 1968:63)

Howard, on the other hand, is interested in change and gives clear indications of the change in music and music function among the Plains-Ojibwa people. Today, in the 1980's one can compare the music of the Indian with that of even thirty years ago and see even further change. What is the nature of this change and can one still affirm that traditional Ojibwa music is a living entity in Manitoba?

## Musical Change Among the Plains-Ojibwa

One might assume that Ojibwa musical culture could have carried more or less intact into the western reaches of Ojibwa expansion except for the evidence that presents itself in the writings of Howard and Skinner and the situation as it is today. The reasons for this change are possibly a change in topography, the involvement of the Woodland Ojibwa in the fur trade and the rise of the metis.

It is suggested by Howard that the movement of the Ojibwa onto the Prairies had caused them to adopt a lifestyle and a economy more in keeping with that of the Plains Indian tribes while still retaining some of the features of their Woodland culture. Musical items in the culture appear to have undergone a similar process of transculturation. Today, one finds very little evidence of either Woodland Ojibwa or of Plains music. Thirty years ago Howard was still documenting evidence of both Plains and Ojibwa styles among the Plains

Ojibwa that he studied while also noting the prevalence of fiddle music among the metis. Lea-McKeown (1984) identified little truly Ojibwa music among a Saulteaux group in Manitoba while noting that the fiddle and guitar were the instruments of choice for social occasions. He also indicated that traditional music, when performed, seemed to be of the Pan-Indian synthesis rather than being specific to any one tribal group. In the last eighty years at least, there appears to have been a complete erosion of traditional music and its replacement with fiddle tunes, jigs and reels. This metamorphosis could have had its roots further back than the beginning of the twentieth century although there is no documented evidence to support this. It does however seem reasonable to look back to the days of the fur trade to find reasons for the change.

The activities of the Ojibwa in the fur trade cast them as a buffer between the Europeans on the east and various indigenous groups and then as middlemen, suppliers and procurors between the European and the western Indians. These roles kept them constantly in touch with both European and native elements of the Canadian population. On the east they are referred to in the Jesuit Relations (Hlady, 1964:35) as early as 1640 while Harmon (1904:24) mentions meeting them near the Narrows of Lake Winnipeg in 1800. Thus, from the historical record it appears that they moved from the environs of Lake Superior to points north-west of Lake Winnipeg and into Saskatchewan within a period of about two hundred years. From a cultural viewpoint such relatively rapid expansion would lead one to think that culture would not diversify very much from east to west. On the other hand the circumstances of the expansion, the numerous contacts with the French and English in the east and the Cree, Assiniboine, and Dakota on the south and west, as well as the actual movement of the Ojibwa back and forth might lead to a rapid appropriation of cultural items from those with whom they came in contact. One might hypothesize that, musically, this was the case with the relatively stable eastern Ojibwa groups maintaining their Woodland musical culture while the western Ojibwa adapted their musical culture and ceremonial life to be more in keeping with that of western Indians and also Europeans.

A word of caution, however, is in order. The fact that Densmore and Burton do not mention European genres in their account of Ojibwa music is no indication that these did not exist but only that such musics may not have been of interest to these investigators. Skinner, and later Howard, both ennumerate facets of musical culture that are both Woodland Ojibwa and Plains Indian in nature. Skinner is the earliest reference found mentioning the fiddle and fiddle music as being the music of the Northern Saulteaux to the exclusion of all else at the beginning of the twentieth century. Howard, in his references to music during the 1950's and 1960's in Manitoba only speaks of the popularity of the fiddle in connection with the metis whom he says live in close association with and are often unidentifiable from Ojibwa groups. Thus, one finds both the metis and the Indians using the fiddle during the last century.

The metis, without delving in depth into their origins, may be defined as those persons of biracial origin who grew out of, in its simplest terms, alliances between the Europeans and the Indians. These people were intimately concerned in the activities of the fur trade and thus with the Ojibwa to whom, of course, they were related by blood. Again, these metis were direct carriers of cultural elements belonging to both their lineages. Peterson (Peterson and Brown, 1985:64) suggests that between the years of 1815 and 1850 there was "a sudden fluorescence of a distinctive metis population and culture radiating outward from the junction of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers, present-day Winnipeg. . ." Such a fluorescence undoubtedly had an impact on the already altered musical culture of Manitoba's Ojibwa population. This influence and possibly blending is supported by comments made by Brasser (in Peterson, 1985) in his discussion of metis arts and crafts. He says:

> Apparently, then, metis art represents a regional climax within a cultural continuum. Almost unnoticed, it made its appearance among the Indian art styles to be submerged again by them when the metis lost visibility as a distinct population. In its 'classic' period, during the mid-nineteenth century, a multi-ethnic continuum can be detected as well, ranging from the Assiniboine at the most aboriginal extremity, via Sioux, Cree and Saulteaux metis, to the French Canadians at the most European extremity. Their arts and crafts blended into each other, frequently making it difficult, if not impossible, to draw a sharp line. (Peterson and Brown, 1985:226)

Thomas (Peterson and Brown, 1985:248) speaks of the metis culture as "a coherent merger of French and Indian lifeways" and identifies the Red River Jig, an incredibly popular tune among Ojibwa groups today, as a distinctive metis tune. It appears that today, the Indian has appropriated much music that might have been considered metis music one hundred or one hundred and fifty years ago.

Thus the Ojibwa musical culture in Manitoba at the beginning of and well into the middle of the twentieth centure appears to have been a syncretism of Woodland Ojibwa, Plains Indian and, via the metis, European traits. As one turns to the musical culture of the people of Ebb and Flow one then looks for these characteristics in the music of that society.

# CHAPTER V

# MUSICAL CULTURE AT EBB AND FLOW RESERVE TODAY

The musical culture of a particular group is that in which they engage at the time of study. It is not traditional in the sense that it is not the same culture that they have been immersed in in the past; it is current, having grown out of the traditions of the past, evolving and adapting to the present. It is not petrified in the memories of the past although it may contain elements of the past. The previous chapter gave some indications that one might expect to find a synthesis of Woodland and Plains Ojibwa music at Ebb and Flow with perhaps an overlay of a fiddle/guitar genre. The finding of this study did not support this expectation and tended to change one's ideas of what might constitute an appropriate programme of music education in and for the community.

## Historical Background to the Ojibwa of Ebb and Flow

It has already been stated that the Ojibwa movement westward was associated largely with the fortune of the fur trade. Dunning says:

> Their livelihood, occupations and population movements were dependent on the changing fortunes of the European fur trade. . . they alone of the western lakes peoples co-operated with the explorers and fur traders. (Dunning, 1959:4)

There is documentary evidence that the Ojibwa had reached far across Manitoba by 1805. Harmon refers to meeting them on the Winnipeg River in 1797 (Harmon, 1904:11); in the vicinity of the Narrows at Lake Winnipeg in 1800 (ibid. :24); the presence of Ojibwa traders on the Assiniboine River in 1805 (ibid. :109); and also east of the Pas in 1805 (ibid. :122) Ray says:

> The boundaries of the Ojibwa territory changed very little during the period 1821 - 1860 and the tribe continued to be centred in the region lying to the east of the present western boundary of Manitoba. To the north, in the Saskatchewan River valley, and in the forests beyond, several small Ojibwa bands moved well beyond the above country . . . (but) the only sections of the Saskatchewan territory where the Ojibwa were an important group were in the forested Carrot, Red Deer, and Swan River valleys. (Ray, 1977:187)

There is very little descriptive literature that pertains directly to the Ebb and Flow area which was not a major water route for the explorers of the eighteenth century. It is known that the Hudson's Bay Company did establish a trading post in the area, naming it Doubtful Post, in 1797. However, it is only in church records that one finds any record of activities for the next one hundred years. Lapierre (1973) has summarized this material and indicates that a number of missions had been established in the area, the Church of England being the first in 1820. The was followed eleven years later by the Roman Catholics in 1831. The first school may have been that under the leadership of John Garriock and Charles Pratt under the aegis of the Church of England. These early schools and missions on the western shores of Lake Manitoba did not thrive for much more than five years as the clergy and teachers became disheartened at the lack of progress in converting the local population. After the treaties had been signed with the Indians in the 1870's references become more frequent.

The Ebb and Flow area was included in those parts of the territory encompassed by Treaty #2 at Manitoba Post, signed August 21st, 1871. Manitoba Post was a Hudson's Bay Trading Post at the north-west tip of Lake Manitoba. The treaty was concluded between Wemyss M. Simpson, Indian Commissioner, and the Indian representatives, Francois or Broken Fingers for Crane River (present day Ebb and Flow) and for Waterhen River among other signatories. (Morris, 1880:318) The land allotted was one hundred and sixty acres per family of five or proportionately more or less according to family size. There was later acceptance of revisions to Treaty #2 signed by Cenaise, the chief, and Bapiste, Francois' son, and Ka-ne-gua-nash, the latter being tribal councillors. (ibid. 340)

After this, Ebb and Flow is mentioned in the reports of Indian Agents and superintendents. In 1880 the community is described as living in Manitoba Village, ten miles from the reserve. This is the area they had been living in prior to the treaty negotiations and now were demanding an allowance to assist their move to the reserve. Some families are depicted as living a semi-nomadic existence in the Riding Mountain and Dauphin areas, subsisting by hunting. H. Martineau, the Indian agent reported that, "the majority of the band on the reserve where they are making a small settlement, by adding yearly to their improvements a house or a stable, as the case may be." (Government of Canada Sessional Papers (no. 14) 1881, part I,72)

W.A. Austin writes in 1881 that the reserve was extended one mile to the south and a mile was deducted from the northern portion. The new land was "a nice piece of prairie land and a good portion of poplar woods, with a little oak and a fair allowance of spruce, although the best of the latter has been cut off by lumbermen. The land may rank as second class." (Government of Canada Sessional Papers (no. 6,) A 1882, part I,135)

In 1883 the agent noted that:

> These Indians have 20 houses, 13 stables, 3 storehouses, 15 horses, 58 head of cattle, 650 bushels of potatoes and 108 tons of hay. The band suffered severely from the encroachment of the lake in former years upon their reserve, having their houses and gardens destroyed, but since the water has subsided within the last two years, they have made considerable improvement in buildings, and clearings. They asked for an ox to be supplied to them as only one of those they have is old enough to plough. (Government of Canada Sessional Papers (no. 4), A 1884, part I,145)

Martineau again reports in 1882 that a new chief, Baptiste Hoole, had been elected and that a large stable had been erected "with the expectation that the Government will give the band a yoke of oxen as the ox on the reserve is old and infirm." (Sessional Papers (no. 4) A 1884, part I,60)

In 1884, E. McColl, Inspector of Indian Agencies, (Manitoba Superintendency) indicates that Mrs. Asham is the new teacher and that the agent had vaccinated twenty Indians. However, the ox problem remained. He says:

> The chief requested instead of the cows promised to be given an oxen, and also asked to be supplied with a chest of tools, a brush plow and spades. The band members also suggested that the school teacher be instructed to take her vacation in the fall, instead of in the summer, as at present, because then the children are absent with their parents at the fisheries. (Sessional Papers (no. 3) A 1885, part I,124)

In 1886, there are indications that the half-breeds withdrew from the reserve. Martineau wrote that "nearly one-half of the members of this band have withdrawn from the treaty as half-breeds, and the remainder numbering about sixteen families, desire the appointment of a Chief and two Councillors to replace those that withdrew". He also comments that "this band has become more united since the withdrawal of the half-breeds from the reserve." (Sessional Papers (no. 15) A 1887, part I, 59) These comments suggest to one that the chief had been a half-breed and possibly that the half-breeds were persons of some importance on the reserve. One could go further by saying that as persons of influence they could have some effect on the cultural milieu of the band. Could it have been a strong metis presence that influenced the people of the area toward their present day musical activities?

In 1896 the reserve was described as having an area of ten thousand eight hundred and sixty five acres with a population of nineteen men, twenty-one women and thirty-nine children. The people supported themselves by hunting, trapping and cattle-raising and also by acting as guides. There were thirty buildings on the reserve. The livestock consisted of sixty cattle, fourteen being the Indians' personal property and forty-six the property of the government; there were also twenty-two horses. Martineau also ennumerates the equipment at the reserve as being three wagons, four buckboards, eleven carts, two mowers, one hay rake, fifteen grub hoes, twelve spades, twelve scythes and twenty-five axes. (Sessional Papers, (no. 14) A 1887, part I,117)

The reports continue to include mention of the reserve over the next twenty years. In 1897 the population had dropped slightly to sixteen men, twenty women and twenty-seven children. (Sessional Papers, (no. 14) A 1899, part I,79) The reserve is described as being mainly Roman Catholic with a Father Comeau being of great assistance to the Indians. (Sessional Papers (no. 27) A 1901, part I, 99) In 1915 the reserve is again noted to be in need of drainage. A further source of income is noted in that the Indians went down to the Gladstone and Portage districts to work at stooking and threshing during the harvest season.

There is a blank in the written history of the area between 1916 and 1948, when one is able to trace the further development of the schools in the area from an interview with B. Grafton, Superintendent of Special Schools, in 1974. (Thomas & Reimer, 1974)

The history of Ebb and Flow over the past one hundred years indicates a lifestyle not very different from that of today except for the improvements that modernization and easier access bring. A road was built into the reserve in about 1954.

## The Community Today

The community lies about one hundred and sixty miles north west of Winnipeg on the western shore of Lake Manitoba on the smaller Ebb and Flow Lake that flows into Lake Manitoba. (see Figure 5:1)

The community consists of a population of about seven hundred persons many of whom maintain residence both at the reserve and in Winnipeg. All the respondents to the questionnaire administered by this worker claimed to be native Indian and he could not differentiate between Indian and metis when considering their lifestyle.

The economy of the reserve is based on cattle ranching, fishing and small service related businesses like stores and cab driving. A few members of the community make a living as musicians and others are employed by the local school. The people also maintain the

Figure 5:1

For the purposes of this thesis this page contained a Map of the region around Ebb and Flow Reserve, taken from topographic maps of the Neepawa area, Manitoba.

traditional activity of making maple sugar using nearby Bjarnson or Sugar Island as their traditional tapping ground. Monias quotes Mrs. Victoria Flett and Mr. Don Bapiste during his investigations there in 1972. Mrs. Flett said:

> I started working there when I was seventeen and I am seventy-three years old now. My grandparents showed me how it was done . . . first, we boil the chips before sticking them into the trees so that the trees won't spoil. When we finish, we clean our camps all around before leaving and we also store all our equipment in our wigwams and sheds on the island. . . I'll be going there for quite a few more years and I think I'll leave my boundary with one of my relatives to carry on when I get too old to do this. (Monias, 1972:12)

Don Bapiste fills out the picture of this previously important activity:

> We were a strong people and withstood cruel weather and walk and carry things for miles without complaints. We matched the strength and endurance of any animals and did things our own way . . . We worked on the sapping and carried all our food and provisions on our backs through snow and ice for hours . . . and there was usually no time for idleness during the course of the maple sapping season. (ibid.)

In the past sugaring was an important source of income for Ojibwa bands (McLeod, 1955) and has continued to some extent despite difficulties over aboriginal rights on Sugar Island.

The school system as it relates to the reserve will be described in the next chapter.

## Musical Activities in the Community

It has already been indicated that an attenuated form of traditional Plains Ojibwa music and the more recent fiddling was discovered to be present in Manitoba Plains Ojibwa communities at least thirty years ago (Howard, n.d.) However, the gradual attrition of traditional music identified in the work of Skinner and Howard appears to have culminated at Ebb and Flow where minimal evidence of traditional music could be found in daily life or even in the memories and recollections of the older people.

On the other hand the fiddling mentioned by Skinner and identified by Howard in connection with the metis is in evidence at every turn and appears to have supplanted completely the earlier musical traditions. Fiddle music accompanies activities at home, is practiced and played outside (see Fig. 5:3 & 5:4) and is central to social evenings at the community hall where people often gather for music, dancing and talk.

During the summer and in December of 1986 the writer saw the musicians of Ebb and Flow congregate in the evenings in this hall, formerly the school building. There they played their fiddles, often accompanied by a guitar or accordian while people of all ages, including children, danced as the fancy took them from time to time. At home, fiddlers will often play for their own enjoyment or to entertain their families and guests. In the summertime one frequently sees a group of fiddlers in a backyard trying out tunes and practicing. Music is a part of daily life in the community much as it might have been in the traditional culture and the children are constantly exposed to it. At the community centre the players may be individuals or a fiddler and accompaniest or a whole group as depicted below. (Fig. 5:2)

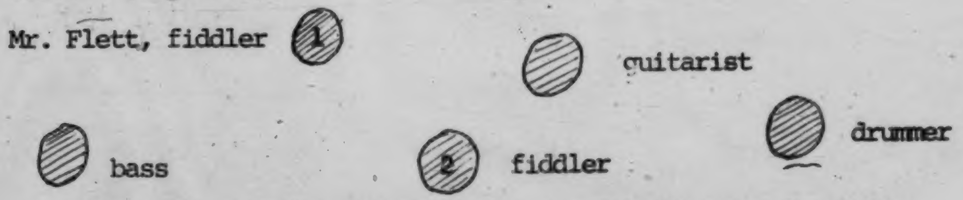


Fig. 5:2. Configuration of a group at the community hall

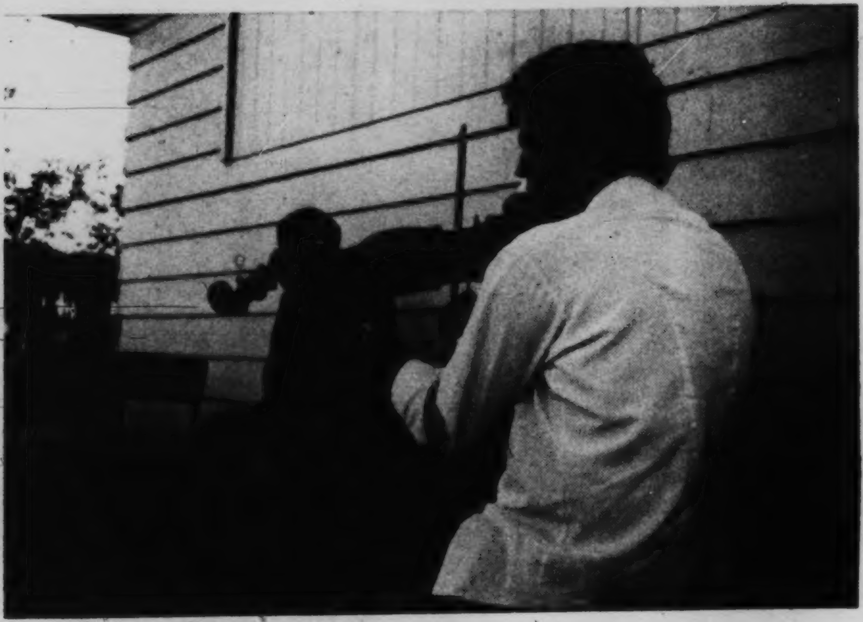


Figure 5:3

Ebb and Flow Musicians Practicing at Home.

Figure 5:4

Ebb and Flow Musicians Playing in an Open Yard - the Oral Tradition in Practice.

While playing the principle fiddler keeps time by continually tapping his feet alternately. A band usually consists of a fiddler, a guitarist and a bass guitar. Often there is an electric guitar and a banjo. An accordion and drums are used from time to time. Vocalists sometimes are accompanied by such a band but when fiddle music in the local tradition is played the most common other activity going on is jig dancing.

Other instruments are found in the homes of the community, these usually being accordions, organs and pianos. Some status is attached to owning and playing a piano as the players have probably had formal music lessons and pianos are expensive acquisitions.

Although many if not most people can 'scrape up' a tune on the fiddle or a guitar the acknowledged musicians of the community are centred in one or two families and a few individuals. The Flett family is one of these musical families and a genealogy is given below with an indication of their musical talents including dancing. (Fig. 5:5, 5:6, 5:7, 5:8)

Discussions with members of the Flett family and with other musicians give an indication of the pervasiveness of the fiddle tradition in the family and in the community. Fred Flett is the great grandson of James Flett, grandson of Roderick Flett, a jig dancer and son of a well known fiddler, William Flett. He is a jig and fiddle champion in Manitoba. He says:

> I learned fiddle by seeing my uncles and older people and also my own father. I am known more as a jig dancer. When I was six years old my grandfather (Roderick) used to make me practice jig dancing in a field for hours. It was during the depression. No one could afford candy. If I did good work he would give me candy as a reward. I learned jigging

Figure 5:5 THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS IN AN ORAL TRADITION.

THE MUSICAL GENEALOGY OF THE FLETT FAMILY.
(James Flett's line)

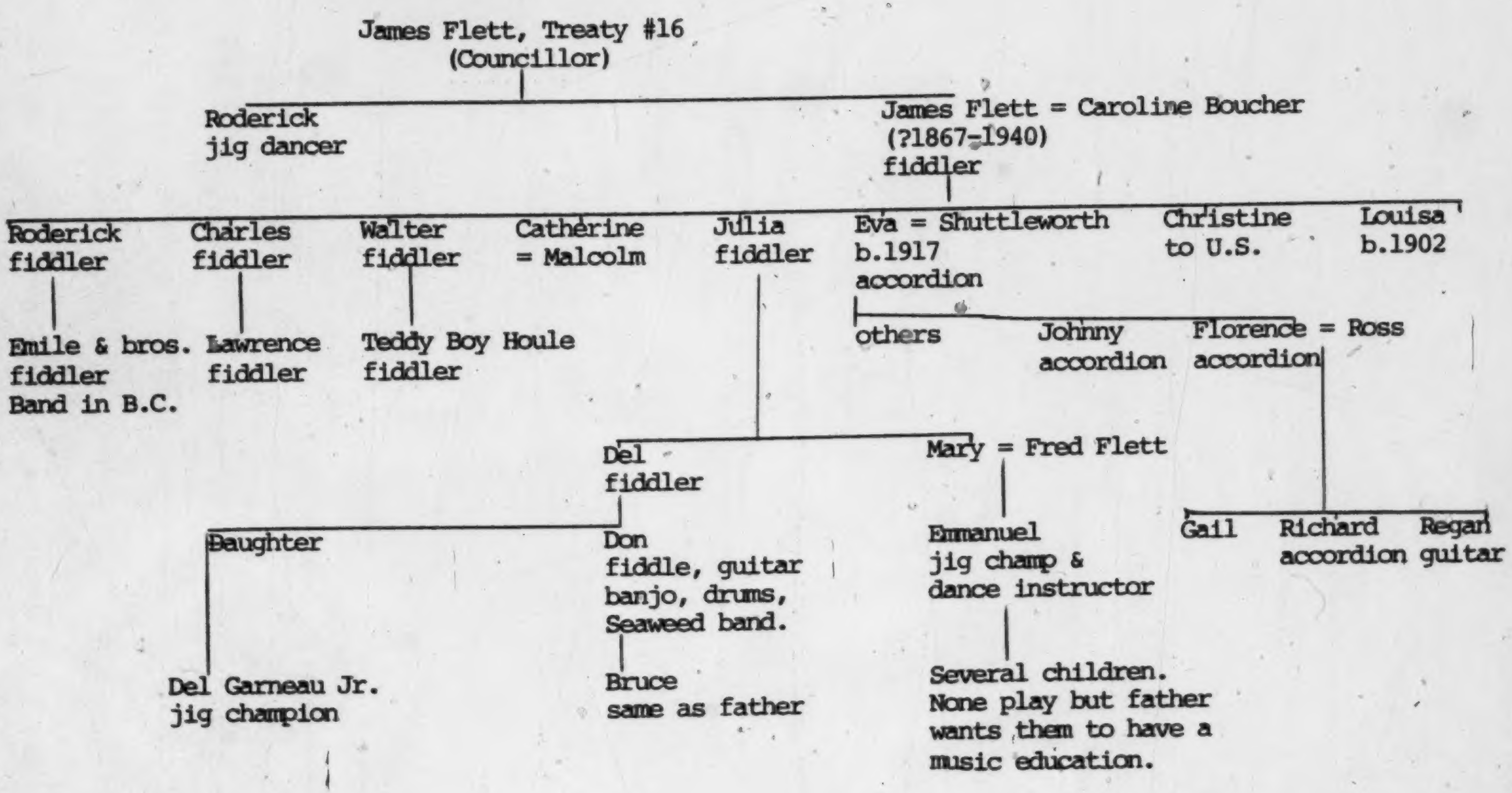

James Flett, Treaty #16
(Councillor)
Roderick
jig dancer
James Flett = Caroline Boucher
(?1867-1940)
fiddler
Roderick
fiddler
Charles
fiddler
Walter
fiddler
Catherine
= Malcolm
Julia
fiddler
Eva = Shuttleworth
b.1917
accordion
Christine
to U.S.
Louisa
b.1902
Emile & bros.
fiddler
Band in B.C.
Lawrence
fiddler
Teddy Boy Houle
fiddler
others
Johnny
accordion
Florence = Ross
accordion
Del
fiddler
Mary = Fred Flett
Gail
Richard
accordion
Regan
guitar
Daughter
Don
fiddle, guitar
banjo, drums,
Seaweed band.
Emmanuel
jig champ &
dance instructor
Del Garneau Jr.
jig champion
Bruce
same as father
Several children.
None play but father
wants them to have a
music education.

Figure 5:6. THE MUSICAL GENEALOGY OF THE FLETT FAMILY.
(Roderick Flett's line)

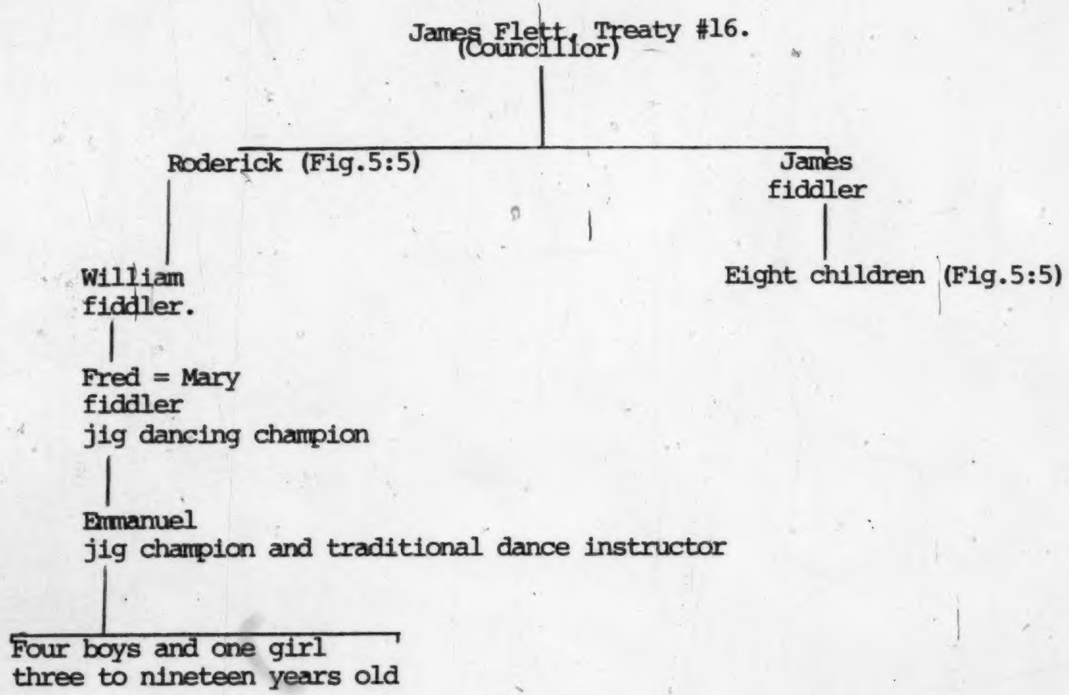

James Flett, Treaty #16.
(Councillor)
Roderick (Fig.5:5)
James
fiddler
William
fiddler.
Eight children (Fig.5:5)
Fred = Mary
fiddler
jig dancing champion
Emmanuel
jig champion and traditional dance instructor
Four boys and one girl
three to nineteen years old

Figure 5:7. THE MUSICAL GENEALOGY OF THE FLETT FAMILY.
(Louisa Flett's line)

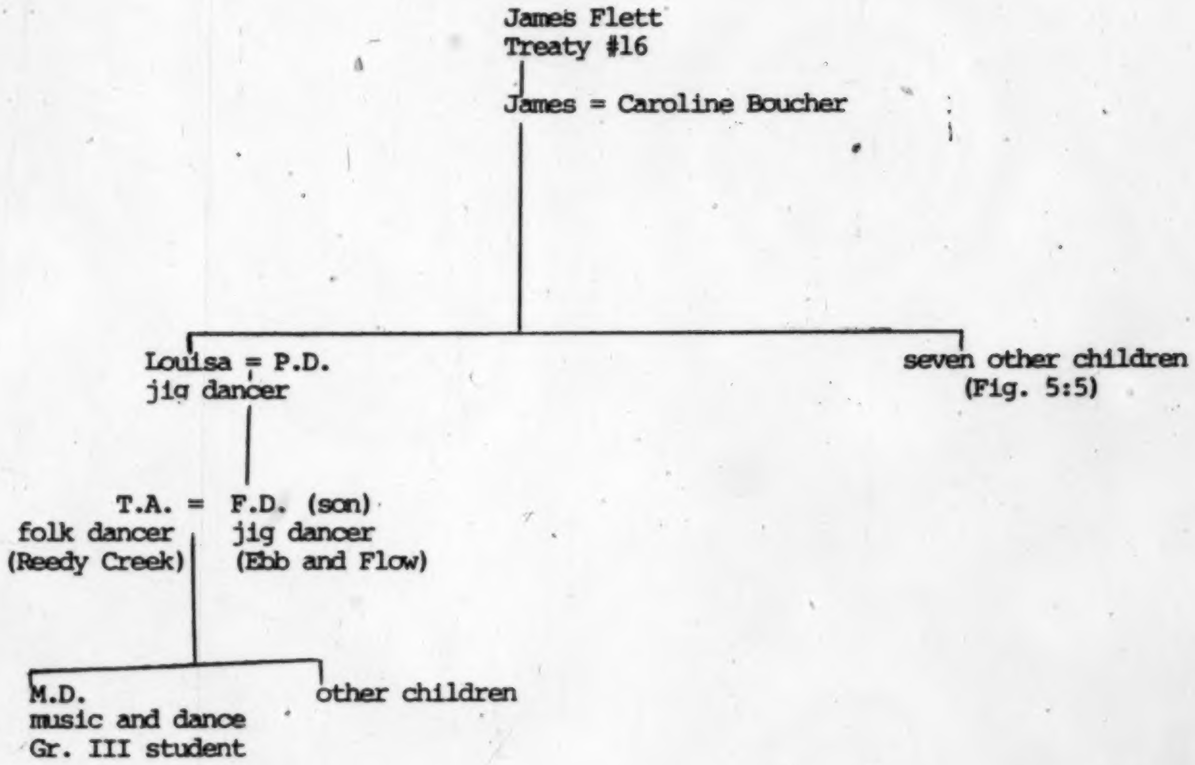
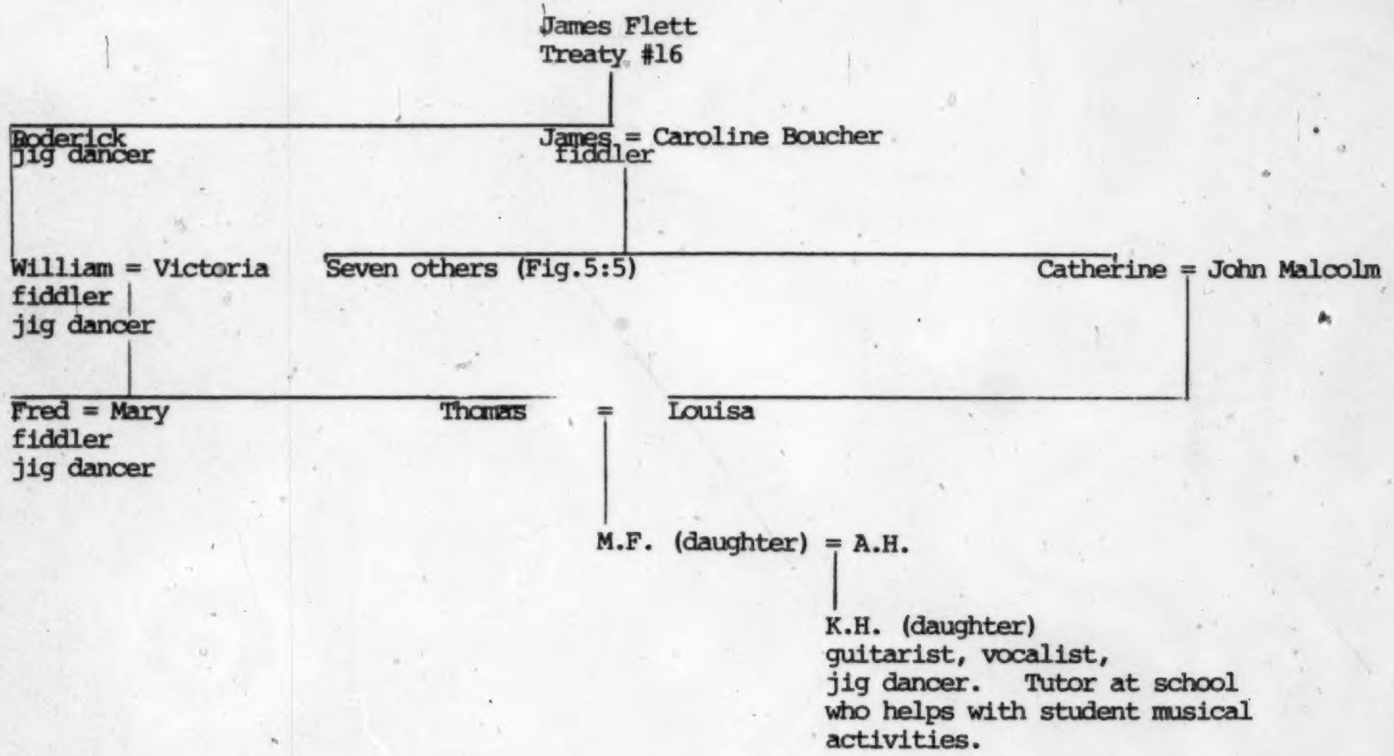

James Flett
Treaty #16
James = Caroline Boucher
Louisa = P.D.
jig dancer
seven other children
(Fig. 5:5)
T.A. =
folk dancer
(Reedy Creek)
F.D. (son)
jig dancer
(Ebb and Flow)
M.D.
music and dance
Gr. III student
other children

Figure 5:8. THE MUSICAL GENEALOGY OF THE FLETT FAMILY.
(Catherine Flett's line)


James Flett
Treaty #16
Roderick
jig dancer
James = Caroline Boucher
fiddler
William = Victoria
fiddler
jig dancer
Seven others (Fig.5:5)
Catherine = John Malcolm
Fred = Mary
fiddler
jig dancer
Thomas = Louisa
M.F. (daughter) = A.H.
K.H. (daughter)
guitarist, vocalist,
jig dancer. Tutor at school
who helps with student musical
activities.

> by watching other people and my grandfather taught me. I started going to competitions when I was a boy and won so I have been a champion several times and still compete. (F.F., Dec. 1986)

As far as Fred Flett knows his immediate ancestors were able to jig and to play the fiddle. He says, "My son Manuel also jigs and is a champion and he plays the fiddle a little."

Fred is married to Mary Garneau, sister of Del Garneau who is a fiddler and whose mother Julia was also a fiddler. Fred Flett is the chief dance instructor at Ebb and Flow and is also leader of the dance group.

Emmanuel or Manual Flett is Fred Flett's son. (Fig. 5:6) Besides being a jig champion he also leads the Ebb and Flow dancers in native style jig dances. He did not learn jigging from his father but from some other relatives and developed what he calls a pow wow style of jig dancing. Manuel has five children between the ages of three and nineteen. None of them are able to read music but some of them are trying to learn an instrument. Manuel comments that "they don't practice like we used to for hours and hours. I want them to take some sort of lessons. Perhaps this will help them."

All of Manuel's family dance and formed part of the Ebb and Flow dance group at Folklorama, which is a multicultural ethnic festival held annually in Winnipeg. It is said to be the largest of its kind in North America. Manuel was the leading jig dancer in a pow wow style and his group dominated the dancing. He said that this was their tradition as far as their memory goes and as far as their history goes.

Lawrence Flett is one of the best fiddlers at Ebb and Flow. He is the son of Charles and the grandson of James Flett and is a second cousin of Fred Flett; first cousin of Teddy Boy Houle and Del Garneau both of whom are well known in Manitoba and Western Canada and the United States. Lawrence leads a band at Ebb and Flow called the Flett trio. He plays native style fiddle tunes which he says have been passed down through the family and in the community. He says that fiddling and jigging have been a family tradition for at least a hundred and fifty years. Lawrence says:

> "I learned the fiddle watching my uncles and relatives and grandfathers. I used to touch my uncle's and father's violins. Sometimes they didn't like it in case I broke something. When I was about five I made a toy violin out of tin with strings of wire and old broken strings. I copied their playing and practiced by myself for hours. All my uncles keep time loudly with their feet like an accompaniment and people danced to that beat. I learned to do the same thing and have done it for over thirty years. I play almost all my uncles' and family tunes, many of which are community traditions as well as my own tunes. I am the one around here who tunes my violin differently." (i.e. EADG) (L.F., Dec. 1986)

In this connection the writer found that some tune their fiddles EADA which is a common tuning pattern for the popular Red River Jig. Lawrence said that he learned the tuning changes from his uncle. For example by tuning the strings to EC#DA one can avoid difficult double stops and fingering.

Most of the older generation of whom Lawrence speaks are dead and now he and his contemporaries are the most distinguished musicians in the community, leading most of the home town musical activities as did his uncles.

He says that he practices at home almost every day or in the community hall with a group. This becomes a live learning opportunity as people of all ages watch, imitate, dance, practice and talk about their music. The children are able to take part in the activities and very often the players are their own close relatives.

In December 1986, the researcher was able to take part in one of these evenings. Lawrence played several tunes in order to show how a tune and tradition was passed down from generation to generation. Most of the music was instrumental with only occasional vocal interpretations. One traditional Indian song was heard. This was an old Ojibwa song accompanied by modern instruments.

Lawrence himself cannot read music himself but he teaches. He said:

> I teach one elementary school boy. I mark finger positions on the finger board. I told him how to hold the bow and how to play a simple tune. I also showed him how to play by playing in front of him. I do not teach him how to read music because I never learned. It seems he is having trouble learning. He's lost interest and has stopped for now. He might start again. I don't know. Nowadays, it seems that young children do not have the patience to practice. (L.F., Summer, 1986)

In May 1987, Lawrence Flett and the writer drove to Dog Creek Reserve, about forty-five miles from Ebb and Flow by road but just across the Narrows as the crow flies. There, Lawrence's sister said:

> When I was a little girl I saw my father, Charles Flett, playing the fiddle and jigging. People liked the music and always danced to it. His brothers were fiddlers and dancers too, well known to the people. My grandfather, James Flett was a treaty Indian and a good fiddle player and my uncles played as well. Now they have all passed away but their descendents, my cousins, and especially my younger brother Lawrence, still play. Lawrence is forty-six years old. My grandfather would be a hundred and twenty years old and my great grandfather, a hundred and forty if they were still alive. We are the children of several generations of musicians.
>
> I used to dance a lot when I was younger but not very often now. I still enjoy listening to the music. My brother plays just like my father. He reminds me of my younger days, sixty years ago. (M.S., Dog Creek Reserve, May, 1987)

Del Garneau is fifty years old, the son of Julia and the grandson of James. Julia came from a musical family as she and her brothers all played the fiddle. She died when Del was six years old. All her siblings are dead except for Louisa who is now eighty-five and Eva who is over seventy years old. Eva told the writer that Julia played the fiddle but Del did not know of this himself. He says:

> When I was little I was surrounded by jiggers and fiddlers. All my uncles, my grandfather and relatives were great fiddlers or jiggers. I first learned the fiddle by copying my uncles. At the time, I couldn't get a violin so I made myself one by myself and used wire for strings. I had to watch carefully to see how they placed their fingers to make a tune and learned rhythm by watching dancers and fiddlers foot movement. When I had trouble I asked one of them and they showed me by playing the tune. I practiced in a field or in the barn.
>
> I became a good player and have been a champion and often place second in Manitoba. Now I make a living as an entertainer in our home town fiddle style working in Winnipeg and at Ebb and Flow.
>
> My two grandchildren are still elementary students. One is a jig champion and plays a little bit of fiddle. He is ten years old but even though he is the grandson of great jig dancers he has difficulty learning the fiddle. The kids do not practice and I would like him to learn to read music. Perhaps this will help him to learn better in all ways. (D.G., Summer, 1986)

The researcher observed the grandfather, Del, and the grandchildren in their home. Del's teaching method is make the child try and learn a tune by just handling the instrument and trying it out. A neighbour's child played around all day on the fiddle and the old man tolerated this, giving occasional guidance. However, such instruction methods are very difficult and time consuming. In the oral tradition, learning to play a tune takes years. Today's child has great difficulty learning through the imitation and observation of former times, as indicated by several native musicians.

Driving to Ebb and Flow one afternoon with Del, he told this researcher that the greatest fiddlers were inspired by Manito, the Great Spirit, who gives the talent. If the power is used unwisely it can be unsafe as another power can get the player and destroy him. Del continued that such power is very dangerous but that he did not have that power. Some people practice in isolated areas to get inspiration, practicing for hours and days and weeks in order to create new music or to play better but, he said, "I don't do it. I just practice at home and so I am good but I am not the greatest."

This is the only indication of a spiritual or religious aspect to fiddle playing that this investigator has had from Ebb and Flow players. Most native fiddle players who have learned to play by ear consider that achievement is through winning at fiddle and jig championships. Thus, many, like Del and his grandson, have entered numerous competitions and won trophies. Del said:

> Today's great fiddlers are like great medicine men and there is a rivalry between them. At a recent championship, I won third place. One of my relatives, a good fiddler, did not win a trophy. He was very upset. (D.G., April 1987)

Recognition of status and position are very important to the fiddler.

However the traditional mode of learning by ear is dying out since the older players pass from the scene and it is found that formally trained players are starting to win the competitions despite resistance from those of the oral tradition. A native musician told this writer:

> I have been a fiddle and jig competition judge in recent years. Once a young girl from out of town was a winner. She has a new skill, different from old time players. Some say she is magic, some say she took violin lessons in the city. This has affected the whole championship scene and older musicians still resist. They say that this is not the natural way to play. Music is not something to be learned

> like that. If you read music you limit your feeling of God given emotion. You are tied to the music which should be freely expressed and which you could develop by yourself.

Del himself is willing to accept the new methods for the younger generation. He has hopes that his grandchildren could have music lessons but cannot afford the fees.

Del's niece is one of the few persons who has had music lessons. This researcher stayed with Del's sister-in-law while at the reserve and she said that she was a nurse who had worked in the city. At that time she sent her daughter for music lessons. On moving back to Ebb and Flow she drove the girl fifty miles for regular piano lessons as there was no teacher at the reserve. The piano in the house is unused now as the daughter has grown up and moved away but the mother has kept all the music and showed it to Del and the writer. She said that she ~~did not~~ think that any one else was presently taking piano or organ lessons.

Teddy Boy Houle is probably the most well known of the fiddlers of Ebb and Flow. He is the stepson of Walter Flett. Again he learned to play in a musical environment, his examples being uncles and relatives. He says he has never had any lessons. Teddy Boy performs at Ebb and Flow once in a while but is an entertainer and spends a lot of time performing away from home. He teaches native style fiddling. He stated that:

> There are a great many of our young people who are interested in our tradition now and wish to learn fiddling and jig dancing. I have a lot of students. I never learned how to read music so I teach the folk way. There are not enough teachers to do this. (T.B.H., Summer, 1985)

Percy Houle is Teddy Boy's brother and they grew up together, both learning to play the fiddle. Percy said he learned by imitating his father. He said:

> I remember a lot of my father's tunes. I miss him very much when I play his tunes as he is dead now and so are all my uncles. When my brother made a record several months ago he brought it to me before the final recording. One tune was the Devil's Waltz which my father played all the time. It reminded me of him and my childhood and I wept. My father was a great fiddler and I miss him. (P.H., December 1986)

Archie Houle is a cousin of Teddy Boy and Percy. He lives both in Winnipeg and at Ebb and Flow and has been known to this writer for twelve years. Archie plays the fiddle which he learned from his uncles and his cousins. His style is to use very little bow. Of learning to play he says, "I learned like everyone else - this is our language. We talk to each other by music and always play together when we get together in our home town. We play more than talk. This is our way." (A.H., December 1986)

The writer met Frank Desjarlis at a community evening in 1986. He is considered a great fiddler at Ebb and Flow and has a family band. He says:

> I learned by observing. I am different because I am originally from another town. I learned as a little boy by practicing on my father's violin for hours. My forefathers are fiddle players and so are many of my relatives. I used to play at a lot of socials in different towns but not much now. I concentrate on my fishing. My children are all grown up but I would like my grandchildren to learn to play. There is one boy in kindergarten and one in Grade 1. I bought a small violin for them and they copy me when I play. I also take them to fiddle contests where they copy me below the stage.
> I never learnt to read music or how to teach small children so I just play for them. I don't know if this is going to work for them like the old days. (F.D., December 1986)

Several points can be gleaned from the above conversations. All the players talked to had learned via an oral tradition; this oral tradition may even now be dying out as the older players pass away and the younger ones fail to pick up the skills of their elders; many of the players would like their descendents to learn to play and to carry on the tradition both of playing and the tunes that have endured through the generations.

The tunes that the fiddlers play are those that have been handed down in an oral tradition although Gibbons (1981) says that this is becoming less common as fiddlers look to recordings to learn tunes. All the musicians play these tunes with their own individual variations, tuning, and styles of playing, often depending heavily on improvisation. The music is never played exactly the same way even by the same players. Thus form and style are constantly evolving as musical change develops in the group. The tunes are jigs and reels and sometimes waltzes, the local style of which is known by all the players. There are also a number of tunes that have no names, being adaptations of more familiar material or having been composed by the player. Two examples of very popular tunes at Ebb and Flow are Maple Sugar and the Red River Jig.

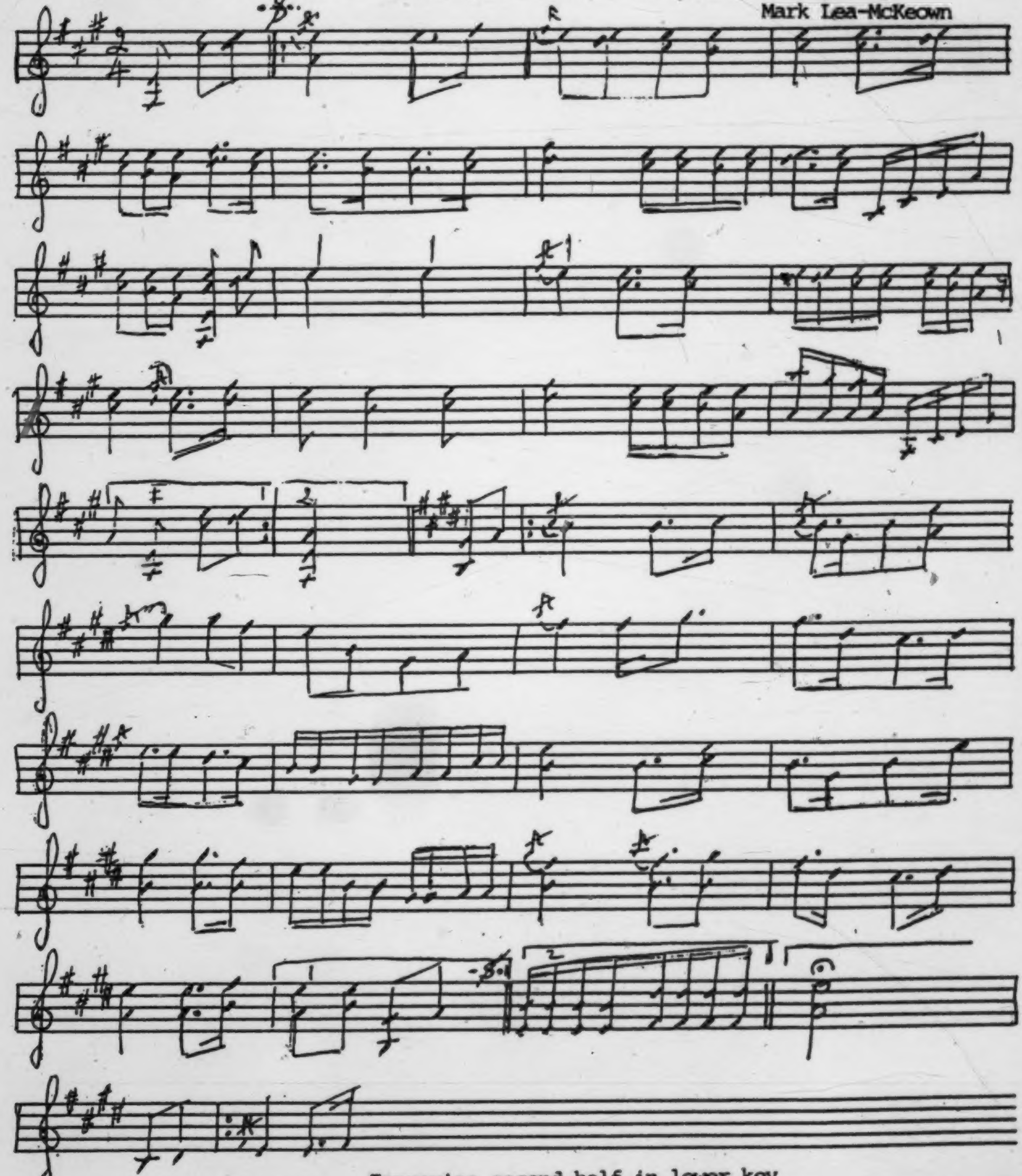
The making of maple sugar has been economically and religiously significant to the Ojibwa in the past and is still made today. Densmore recorded a song in 1910 that accompanied the activities of sugaring and later adapted it for the use with children's group activities. (Densmore, 1921)

The making of maple sugar is still a viable economic pursuit among the people of Ebb and Flow and the more recent fiddle tune, Maple Sugar, is much loved by them. (Fig. 5:9)

In 1975 at Swan River, Manitoba, north west of Ebb and Flow, the researcher was playing with a group of native people. The former

Figure 5:9. **MAPLE SUGAR.**

An Ojibwa style fiddle tune from the traditional. Arranged by Mark Lea-McKeown



Improvise second half in lower key

chief of a nearby reserve taught him this tune and told him about maple sugar. The chief said, "We native musicians always play this tune and dance to it."

In 1976 in Winnipeg a fiddler from Ebb and Flow invited the writer to his home. The fiddlers there were playing Maple Sugar and Red River Jig and it was observed that these were the tunes most in demand throughout the evening. Again during 1985 and 1986 at Winnipeg's ethnic festival, Folklorama, both at the Native Pavilion and at the Metis Pavilion these were the most popular tunes.

At Ebb and Flow in December, 1986, a grandmother, sister of one of the fiddlers, gave the writer some maple sugar saying, "We get the sugar from nature here and I always make it. When you leave I will give you some more so that you can have it in the city." That same evening the writer and some of the young children went to a community gathering at the hall. The writer was requested to play his version of Maple Sugar (Fig. 5:9) accompanied by local musicians who then followed with their versions. Meanwhile the children danced to the music quite freely with none of the shyness often associated with native children.

On a similar occasion an old Ojibwa said, "The white man took away our land and spoiled our natural goods which was plentiful and which Manito provided for us but he can never take our songs away from our hearts."

Traditionally, Maple Sugar was a song and a dance attached to the harvesting of the maple sap in the Woodland culture. Today a fiddle tune and dancing appear to have retained some of the respect for nature although the tune is by no means restricted to the sugaring process and is played on any and all occasions. A fiddle tune has replaced the song of Densmore's time but some of the old associations may still remain.

The Red River Jig is one of the most loved tunes among the natives of Western Canada. Many native informants say it is one of their oldest tunes and has been part of their musical culture for many generations. One man at Ebb and Flow even went so far as to say, "This Red River Jig goes back as far as our history goes." The dance itself, says Barbara Louise Mulligan, herself of native descent, ". . is, we believe, derived from the Pow Wow of the North American Indian, the early inhabitants of the Red River Valley, and was continued by the early settlers." (Mulligan, 1932 n.p.)

Gibbons, (1981) however, compares it to 'La grande gigue simple' which, although anonymous, may have been composed by a French Canadian fiddler in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century and first arrived in the Hudson's Bay territories during the nineteenth century. Among the half-breed population the Red River Jig appears to have been a popular step dance accompaniment and eventually the two became synonymous. Thus one has a tune that probably has French Canadian origins and came to the west while the dance seems to be a combination of traditional Indian and European styles.

The tune is immensely popular at native gatherings and some have told this writer that it is the national anthem of the native peoples of western Canada. It is played and danced in preference to all other tunes and has a history of at least one hundred and twenty-seven years if the accompanying sketch is to be believed.

Figure 5:10

For the purposes of this thesis this space contained a reproduction of The Red River Jig as depicted by the artist Marble Manton in 1860 (Education Manitoba 1983:20)

Figure 5:10 The Red River Jig done by the artist Manton Marble in 1860 (Manitoba Archives) (Education Manitoba 1983:20)

The style of dancing this jig at Ebb and Flow was observed to be a combination of traditional dancing in the Indian fashion and tap dancing and looks very like that depicted (Figure 5:10)

As with Maple Sugar and other tunes there are numerous versions of the Red River Jig. Gibbons (1981) accounts for these by saying that some of the variations are due to nervousness and uncertainty on the part of the players while regional versions have been influenced by migration patterns and, more recently, by a dependence on commercial recordings.

The two tunes cited are examples of fiddle music played at Ebb and Flow. The genre is pervasive and little or no traditional Ojibwa music could be discovered. The people themselves expressed little interest in traditional native music. An interview questionnaire conducted among one hundred and eleven adult members of the Ebb and Flow community indicated that 81% of those questioned thought that fiddle music was native music; 69% indicated that fiddle music was the music most often played in their community; and 49.5% said that fiddle music was what they preferred to hear. Very few identified 'pow wow' music as typical Indian music and even fewer gave any indication that this is what they would like as music in the community.

These initial results, expanded in the next chapter, tend to give credence to the theory that the current music of the people, the folk music, is that of the fiddle and that traditional music is no longer a viable entity. Gibbons (1981) suggests that the 'pure' folk oral tradition as it pertains to the Red River Jig in particular, is also disappearing as tunes become recorded and written down with players using these as source material rather than relying on the skills of the older generation. Tunes and styles of playing are learned by listening to tapes and records rather than by picking them up from the musical milieu. At Ebb and Flow, although many of those talked to indicated a lack of diligence on the part of younger players, the observer was able to identify some aspects of the oral process.

## A Boy's Learning Process at Ebb and Flow

In order to observe a ten year old boy's learning at home and in the community and at school, this researcher stayed at his home and went to school with him as well as to some of the community activities pertaining to music.

The writer has been associated for some years with the boy's older relations. One of these, the boy's grandmother, Eva, described her learning of music:

> I was a daughter of a music and dancing family around the beginning of the century in this community. My grandfathers and their relatives were musicians and dancers and all my brothers were fiddlers and dancers. Their descendents still carry on the family tradition in the music and dance of this community. I learned the accordion by myself. I play by ear and cannot read music. I taught my son who taught my daughter and one of her sons, an elementary student who is learning to play the guitar on his own. My grandson is learning by watching the older musicians practice and getting advice from them. These musicans are nearly all his relatives. (E.F., December, 1986)

The boy practices by himself at home and also imitates other musicians who happen to be playing at home with friends and relatives. His practicing consists of picking out tunes that he has heard and trying to play them as he has heard them.

He also goes to the community hall where music and dance are going on and gets informal instruction from the players there. While a band composed of a fiddler, guitarist, bass guitarist and accordionist are practicing he sits and strums on his guitar slightly apart from the others. He plays along with the band as he is able and they give him advice as they go along. An older man sits beside the boy watching him and sometimes giving advice. The boy's mother is the accordionist with the band and acts as a role model for him. Further reinforcement and advice is given by the boy's grandmother who sits behind him. At the same time his father and other elders in the vicinity praise him and encourage him. This went on for several hours. The boy himself said to the writer, "Now I can play most keys in guitar. I have lots of chance to learn at home and here at the hall." Such an environment gives the young musician plenty of encouragement without any pressure from his elders. Learning is something he wants to do and is encouraged to do although no one sits down formally and teaches him. This is part of the nature of the oral tradition. It was this oral tradition that maintained the music of the past and now maintains the fiddle music of the present.

Since the days of the fur trade the music of the Ojibwa people has undergone change so dramatic that there is now no vestige of the traditional Woodland or Plains music. The tradition is now native style fiddle music which has resulted from the impact of changing lifestyle, new contacts and the possible obsolescence of former functions of music. The new music culture is still an oral tradition which itself seems in danger of dying out as the younger generation neglect it. At Ebb and Flow the music of the present is still a viable and exuberant part of life but some of the community anticipate its demise if the children do not receive a more formal type of music education. Their needs and aspirations for their children in this area will be addressed in the next chapter.

# CHAPTER VI

## MUSIC EDUCATION AT EBB AND FLOW

The literature previously reviewed indicated that there were very few music programmes in North America based in the native cultural experience and tradition with the exception of those advocated by Johnston (1974) and Ballard (1970). These two writers and Trimillos (1972) insist that music education, especially early music education, should take its direction from the socio-cultural experience of the participating students, the milieu in which they spend their out-of-school time. As there is so little evidence of music programmes based in the native cultural experience, one has to assume that those native schools that do have programmes use curricula based on materials developed for a generic school and student rather than for specific groups. On the other hand, such curricula are sometimes broad enough and flexible enough to allow the teacher considerable freedom in the selection of music and instruments in order to instil musical concepts. Such materials, in the case of native Canadian students, can be difficult to find. Furthermore, the teacher, unless native, is at a disadvantage in not knowing the socio-cultural background of the students and thus fails to utilize the resources at hand.

Music education takes two forms; the informal hidden curricula of the socio-cultural context into which a child is born and which is always present to a greater or lesser extent; and the formal, structured programmes of the prevailing school system. These latter may or may not be available to the child. Thus, in examining music education in a specific location this writer has chosen to detail the informal music education available in the community on one hand and that received in the school on the other. At the same time, he elaborates on the perceptions of the people, adults and children, concerning music in their community and their wishes concerning music education.

## Music Education in the Community - the Hidden Curriculum in an Oral Tradition

In the summer of 1986 Del Garneau and the writer went to the Ebb and Flow band office to meet Don Baptiste, a band councillor and community leader who had been involved a few years previously in negotiating for a new school building. Baptiste's role at present is the promotion of native education and he has represented the Ebb and Flow community in other parts of the country. He stated that:

> Native culture oriented music education was one of my concerns when I was dealing with government representatives for the new school. Music education along with native tradition is essential for future generations so that they can be better human beings. Respect for Mother Earth and the Great Spirit and the values of each individual person is necessary in order to discover one's own worth. (Don Baptiste, 1986)

On being asked if native music meant the traditional music of the past, he continued:

> Mark, we do not live in the past. Music and dance are part of life, a part of yourself and of the people. It is a means of identification. Native music and dance were important to our culture and they are still important for our people's cultural identity but times have changed. Today, around here, our music and dance is mainly fiddling and jigging in our own Ebb and Flow style. Whether old times or today, to be a good musician or dancer one has to be part of nature, at one with nature.
>
> Regarding music education in the native tradition, the curriculum is based in the wisdom and spirit of the elders, an attitude of respect for nature. This is the basis of our curriculum.
>
> Today, everyone emphasizes a native curriculum in the school system but it is still technologically slanted. This is partly good but developing a philosophy of respect for oneself and the value of life is extremely important. Music education is important in directing the younger generation into the right ways. It is not just how to sing or play an instrument but is to emphasize history and cultural values. Through music can come socialization, the development of relationships to one's own and other cultures, the whole universe in harmony. To be good one has to be balanced and to be balanced an aesthetic education is very important.
>
> This is the first time some one has been interested in our music education, someone who is trying to give balance to our education. (Don Baptiste, 1986)

Don Baptiste's words emphasize the value of a culturally based music education to the individual as well as to the society of which that individual is a part. There is an interweaving between the growth of the person and the contribution that his culture makes to that growth. This process of growing and learning is part and parcel of musical life at Ebb and Flow, as evidenced by the interaction of community members in the musical activities of the reserve. The prevalence of informal musical behaviours has already been cited. A more formal, planned event is described below.

In the spring of 1987 Del Garneau told the writer that there was to be a fiddling and jigging championship at the reserve, sponsored by Chief Beaulieu. Del said that:

> The chief of Ebb and Flow is not only a politician but also a fiddle player like his brother and a good jig dancer. He

> is my wife's cousin. The chief is very concerned with the education of the community in order to promote native musical tradition and education. (D.G., 1987)

The championship was to consist of fiddling, jigging and also singing. It would be held at the hall on the reserve and the participants were to be school children and also other age groups. The chief invited one of western Canada's best fiddlers, Reggie Bouvet, to play as well as other musicians and dancers. Thus, in addition to participating, the children and the community were able to hear and see skilled performers playing music and dancing dances to which they themselves could relate.

In Winnipeg, the writer had been party to and observed some of the preparations for the event. Del Garneau spent a lot of time prior to May 2nd getting himself ready for the fiddling contest. He also spent much time and effort in preparing Del junior. Del junior is a ten year old jig champion who has entered and won a number of competitions. He learned to dance from his grandfather, Del senior. Del junior intended to enter the dancing contest for students in his age group. The entire family helped him with his dancing; his aunt took him out for a special haircut and his grandmother polished his shoes. At his grandfather's request, the writer became involved in playing the fiddle for him while he practiced his dancing at home. For the boy it was extremely important that he do well as his cousin had defeated him at a previous competition. Suddenly, however, at the last minute, he said that he did not want to go. No one in the family was upset about this and quietly accepted his decision. His grandfather said, "No, I'm not upset. We don't force our children. Forcing doesn't help them to learn. It only creates resentment.

Based on their wishes we respect their will and their choices. This is our way." This attitude is in marked contrast to that of the dominant culture in Canada where learning experiences are often thought to be good for a child and where he is forced into them by parents who feel that they and not the child know what is best. In this case, the child's wishes prevailed and Del Garneau and the writer went to Ebb and Flow, leaving Del junior at home in Winnipeg.

On arriving at Ebb and Flow, two hours before the championship, the researcher met the chief's brother who had driven in to take part. The following conversation ensued:

A.B.: Hi, Mark, are you entering the fiddle contest?

Researcher: No, Albert, but I will be there to see the children dancing to the fiddle tunes. I really want to see the children and how their parents participate. Do you know how many elementary children are entering the jig and fiddle championship?

A.B.: A lot of them.

Researcher: How many fiddlers' kids are entering?

A.B.: As far as I'm concerned, nobody from here. Maybe some from other communities or from the city. Reggie Bouvet and a few guys are coming from Winnipeg for tonight. Anyway, if you're not entering, have a look at my violin and play a few tunes.

The writer played a couple of tunes for him.

A.B.: What do you think of my violin. I bought it from Teddy Boy, who went to Shelburn. (Shelburn is the site of the largest fiddle championship in North America). I have to go home and practice for tonight. See you then.

He had previously said that he learned by observing others and comparing different styles. This was why he wanted the writer to play. He reiterated this the same evening just before entering the competition, saying:

> I'll be playing tonight at the hall, not just to win but this is a great chance to learn for me because lots of people are coming from other towns - people like you. I heard about your music style from my brothers and other fiddlers about ten years ago. I haven't had much chance to hear people like you too often. I know you are not entering but try to play a few tunes as a guest so we can all hear. This will be a good chance for all of us to learn something new. (A.B., May 2nd, 1987)

The fiddle, jig and singing contest was opened by Reggie Bouvet playing fiddle tunes. He payed tribute to the fiddling of the first James Flett by performing some of his tunes that had been handed down from the turn of the century. In the audience were many children, both of elementary age and older, with their parents. The parents were anxious that their children should have the opportunity of hearing native music played by native players in their own style. A parent said:

> Although it cost ten dollars to come here and listen, it is worth it for the children's sake. We do not have this kind of opportunity for our children to hear and learn too often even though we can hear this kind of music everyday, played by our own people.
>
> Another parent said:
>
> Our chief himself is a fiddler and dancer and so are all his family. One of his brothers is very good and is entering the contest today. The chief put on this event especially for us and for the children.

The events in which the children were involved were those that were jigging competitions. A large number of children from six years old and up participated in the various classes. These elementary age children were excellent dancers and were comparable to the dancers in the adult classes. The adults, many of them parents of the younger competitors, competed as vigorously and as enthusiastically as their children did.

Frank Desjarlais told the writer that Teddy Boy Houle had put on a special dance for the junior high school children the previous evening but it was obvious that the talent contest was the event of the weekend and that everyone who could possibly be there was there.

It is suggested by the writer that the talent contest had covert educational significance. The contest involved fiddling, jigging and singing - all to the accompaniment or involving the performance of the folk music of the community. Besides hearing their own music played and valued by a number of performers and being able to participate in the activities, there was tremendous interaction between the parents and the children, with the parents cheering on the children and the children doing the same for the parents in turn. The writer asked a number of participants about how they learned their various musical skills and the answer was almost always that they had learned by themselves, saying, "This is our family way, part of our lives." They had learned by observation, imitation, encouragement from others, the presence of role models in their parents, relatives and friends, and through the judicious offering of advice from time to time much like the boy described in the previous chapter. It was interesting to note that, although the whole evening's activities depended on or involved fiddle music, no children competed in fiddle or singing events. This tends to bear out the remarks by adults that children do not practice and learn to play this instrument the way they used to do. The tradition is dying out.

The chief was present throughout the evening and invited the writer to play as a guest. The elementary students who were familiar with his work and the school staff gave him a warm welcome which was very gratifying as it emphasized his acceptance in the community. This acceptance was again demonstrated later in the evening. The researcher had pre-arranged for a place to stay but this arrangement had fallen through at the last minute. Another parent then came forward and told the writer:

> You are most welcome here. Everytime you come, you perform and take part in our lives. You are not a stranger but one of us. I would be glad to have you stay at my house. There is a separate section at home with a living room and bedroom and you can work quietly there.

This small incident was a palpable demonstration that familiarity with the culture, music in this case, is a powerful reason for acceptance. It can be one of the best tools that a researcher can have to help him participate in the lives of the people and try to see as they see.

This participation and acceptance were demonstrated by another person the writer met at the reserve in the summer of 1986. This man was at the community hall where native fiddlers were being recorded by a worker from Toronto who was doing ethnomusicological research. The man was also at the school in December, 1986, helping with the preparation of the school concert. Archie Houle had told the writer about this man, saying:

> There is a non-native man, a teacher I think, from outside, at Ebb and Flow school. He is a Cape Breton style of fiddler. Sometimes he plays at socials with the people. Although his playing is different from ours he is well liked because of his music. He is not only a teacher but everyone's friend as well. (A.H., Folklorama, August, 1986)

The researcher had an opportunity to talk to this man who said:

> I studied piano to a grade VI level a long time ago but I became interested in fiddle music so I took some lessons and developed my own way of playing. Since I teach at the school I'm very busy so I only get a little practice in. I

> don't play at dances but I do join in with the local people when they gather for their own enjoyment.

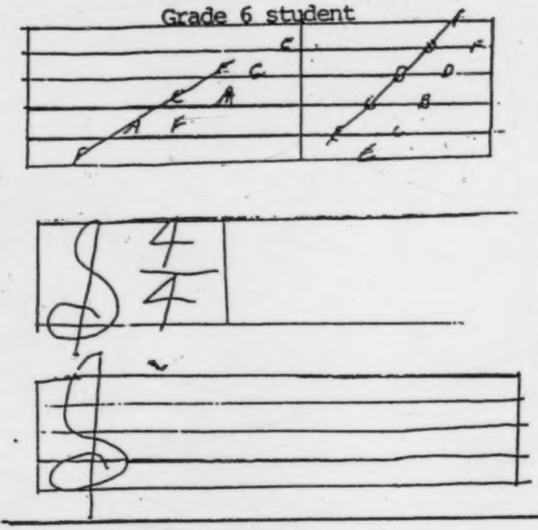
This same teacher got a lot of support in the talent contest for his folk singing both from children and adults. He won first prize. His musical ability has allowed him to enter more fully into the life of the people, and possibly allowed him to better relate to his students at school. A man such as this would be an ideal link between the community music curriculum and the school music programme.

The school music programme and their own musical interests were discussed by children of the reserve with the researcher the day after the talent contest. The home where he had been invited to stay was an ideal location for this as there were two elementary students in the household and they had access to pinball machines in the attached store. Large numbers of children tended to congregate there because of this. The writer asked some of these children about music at school which, it was now discovered, was in a developmental stage, contrary to previous statements that there was no such programme at the school. The children to whom he talked were in grades III, V, and VI. They indicated that their music teacher was the grade VI home room teacher who also taught music to grades IV and V. They said:

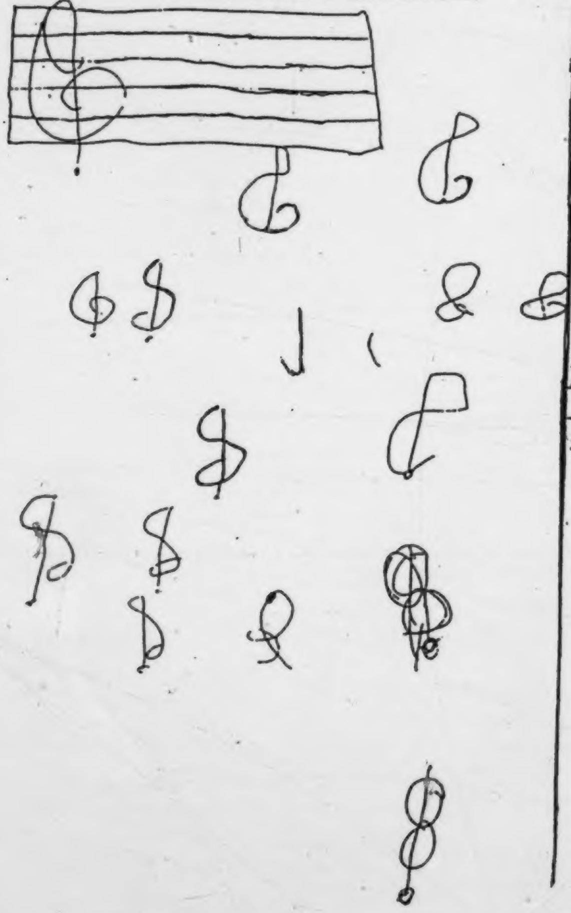
> We mainly sing country and western music like Country Road and Country Boy and also some action songs. Our teacher plays the guitar. We also learned about music signs and high and low notes for about three weeks. Lots of kids got tired so we have stopped for now.

This writer asked them to show him what they had learned and the results are shown in Figure 6:1. Although very impromptu, these indicate that perhaps they did have a slight grasp of musical notation but that this was very sketchy. The writer was later told by the

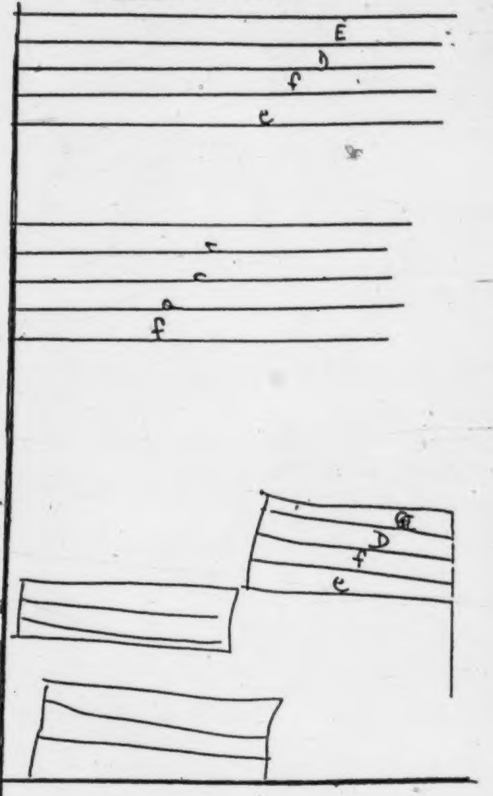
Grade 6 student



Grade 3 and 4 students



Grade 3 student



Grade 6 student

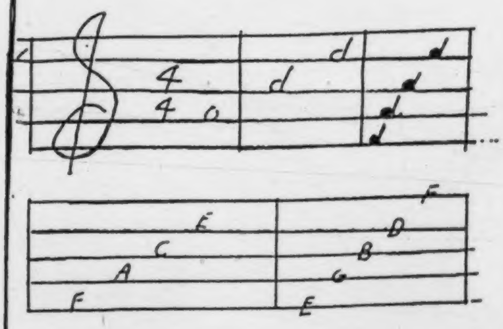

4
4
F
A
C
E
E
G
B
D
F

Figure 6:1

Elementary Students Knowledge of Music Notation.

teacher that the grade VI student's results were good but that this particular student was very bright and that his results were not indicative of the general grade VI musical knowledge, a statement that was borne out when a similar test was conducted in the school with the grade VI class.

The same morning, one of the children, Tammy Davis, Louisa Davis' granddaughter, said:

> I learned music in class and how to read a little. Now I have forgotten some of it as we don't do it any more. She (the teacher) goes so fast, it is difficult to understand. The kids like to sing better than to learn music notes. I play some guitar. I learned how to play from my mother who teaches at the school. I also dance an old native dance and we dance in social studies class.

She and four or five others showed the writer how they danced this dance, the Sundance, she explained. She also said that dancers from Rossburn had come to perform the Sundance for the school in the gymnasium. She is eleven years old and was the first person that had mentioned that the Sundance was still done in the area. In this instance it had been a school event and was associated with social studies, an effort to bring some of the native culture into their learning experience.

K.D., a grade VI student also remembered this. He said, of the dance, "They once taught us how to do it in social studies."

A grade III student, D.C., said that they had music two or three times a week. He said, "The teacher uses a music book and plays piano and sings. He taught us high and low notes but I don't know what that is. He mainly plays the piano and sings and asks us to sing. We also do hand clapping to count time."

M.D., also in grade III, filled in a little more, saying:

> We started a school choir two weeks ago with my home room teacher. The choir members are from all the elementary grades. We practice children's songs like Yellow Submarine. Our teacher conducts the choir and the Grade VI teacher plays the guitar.

All this came out in talking with these children outside school hours. They may not have told the writer as much had they been asked the same questions in school. The questions were directed toward what they had learned in school rather than toward what their musical activities were at home. This latter information had already been gathered to some extent in a questionnaire, the results of which will be discussed later.

The adults of the community also completed an interview questionnaire with one hundred and eleven people responding. The process included sitting down and talking with individuals or groups of individuals during the course of which they completed the questionnaire (Appendix A) Initially this took a considerable amount of time but as the interviewer grew more skilled, the questionnaires in most instances were completed very rapidly and more time was left for discussion. The purpose of the questionnaire in the community was to ascertain the people's perception of what constituted Indian music, the music of their community and their opinions regarding music education in the school. The responses were as follows.

One hundred and eleven responses were obtained. One hundred and ten persons claimed Indian ancestry and one person did not respond. (Table 6:1) One hundred and eight people said that they were from Ebb and Flow and one failed to answer this question. Of these respondents eleven stated that they were educators, two, native leaders, one a musician and educator, one a musician, educator and leader and eleven were musicians. Eight persons did not respond to this item and seventy-seven indicated none of the above. The sample consisted of fifty-nine males, forty-nine females and three who failed to respond. One person was in the 12-18 age bracket; sixteen females and seven males were from 18-25 years old; sixteen females and twenty-nine males were 25-40 years old with two persons of indeterminate sex; the 40-60 year old group contained sixteen females and sixteen males; three females and five males were over 60.

**TABLE 6.1**

**Demographic Characteristics of Sample Population.**

n = 111

| | | | Number | (%) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Domicile | Ebb & Flow | 108 | 97.3% |
| | | No answer | 3 | 2.7% |
| 2. | Ancestry | Indian | 110 | 99.1% |
| | | No answer | 1 | .9% |
| 3. | Profession (relevant) | Educator | 11 | 9.9% |
| | | Musician | 11 | 9.9% |
| | | Leader | 2 | 1.8% |
| | | Musician/educator | 1 | .9% |
| | | Musician/educator/leader | 1 | .9% |
| | | None of above | 77 | 69.4% |
| | | No answer | 8 | 7.2% |
| 4. | Sex | Male | 59 | 53.2% |
| | | Female | 49 | 44.1% |
| | | No answer | 3 | 2.7% |
| 5. | Age | 12-18 | 1 | .9% |
| | | 18-25 | 23 | 20.7% |
| | | 25-40 | 47 | 42.3% |
| | | 40-60 | 32 | 28.8% |
| | | over 60 | 8 | 7.2% |

## Table 6.2

**Perceptions of what constitutes Indian music.**

n = 111

| | Age Group | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Music | 12-18 | 18-25 | 25-40 | 40-60 | >60 | Total | (%) |
| Fiddling, Jigging | 1 | 18 | 24 | 28 | 7 | 78 | 70.3% |
| Powwow | | 4 | 3 | | | 7 | 6.3% |
| Country & Western | | | 4 | 2 | | 6 | 5.4% |
| Fiddling & Pow wow | | 1 | 6 | | 1 | 8 | 7.2% |
| Fiddling, Pow wow Country & Western | | 1 | 2 | | | 3 | 2.7% |
| Fiddling & Country & Western | | 1 | 2 | 1 | | 4 | 3.6% |
| No answer | | | 2 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 4.5% |
| | | | | | | 111 | 100.0% |

It can be seen in Table 6:2 that 70.3% of the sample indicated that fiddling and jigging was what native Indian music was to them. If one includes responses that indicated fiddling and jigging and some other music then 83.8% of the population sampled considered fiddling to be native Indian music. 64.4% of all males and 75.5% of all females responded that fiddling was Indian music.

When asked what music was most commonly heard in the community 77 persons (69.4%) responded that fiddling was the music of choice. (Table 6.3)

**Table 6.3**

**Music most commonly heard in the community.**

| Music | Number Male | Number Female | | Total | (%) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Fiddling | 41 | 36 | | 77 | 69.4% |
| Country & Western | 15 | 11 | (1)* | 27 | 24.3% |
| Fiddling & Country | 4 | 2 | (1)* | 7 | 6.3% |
| Total | | | | 111 | 100.0% |

* No sex indicated.

It is interesting to note that 70.4% of the persons who heard country and western music in the community fell into the 25-40 year age group. The choice 'fiddling and jigging' spanned all age groups. No explanation is offered for this except that as the road was built into the area in the 1950's there may have been a bigger influence from the outside on the younger group as they were growing up.

There did not appear to be any particular significance attached to the responses concerning where this music was played and on what occasions. 63.1% responded that the music was played at home, at socials and on special occasions; 11.7% indicated only socials and special occasions and 11.7% gave no answer; the remainder specified only socials or only special occasions. There was no correlation between respoases of a specific type of music and the situation in which it was played.

**Table 6.4**

**Music persons would prefer to hear.**

| | | | | Age Group | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Music | | 12-18 | 18-25 | 25-40 | 40-60 | over 60 | Total | (%) |
| Fiddling, jigging | M. | 1 | 1 | 9 | 15 | 4 | 30 | |
| | F. | | 7 | 4 | 11 | 3 | 25 | (49.5%) |
| Country& western | M. | | 5 | 14 | 2 | 1 | 22 | |
| | F. | | 7 | 7 | | | 14 | (34.2%) |
| | No sex | | | 2 | | | 2 | |
| Country& western, fiddling | M. | | | 6 | 1 | | 7 | |
| | F. | | 2 | 3 | 3 | | 8 | (13.5%) |
| Fiddling, pow wow | M. | | 1 | | | | 1 | ( .9%) |
| No answer | F. | | | 2 | | | 2 | ( 1.8%) |
| Total | | | | | | | 111 | (99.9%)* |

* Rounding error.

When examining the music preferences of the sample population, one sees that the 25-40 year old group prefers country and western music (20.7% of the whole sample) while 23.4% of the whole sample fell into the 40-60 year old group and preferred fiddling and jigging. Fiddling was included in all responses except for the groups that indicated only country and western.

One hundred and seven persons indicated that they would like music classes in the school, one person did not and two persons did not answer. Their choices for the type of music instruction to be received are tabulated in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5

**Choices for school music classes.**

| Class or combination of classes | Number | (%) |
|---|---|---|
| Fiddle, jig, pow wow | 4 | 3.6% |
| Fiddle, guitar | 27 | 24.3% |
| Fiddle, piano | 4 | 3.6% |
| Fiddle | 9 | 8.1% |
| Fiddle, choir, guitar | 11 | 9.9% |
| Fiddle, choir, guitar, drum | 1 | .9% |
| Fiddle, choir, guitar, band | 2 | 1.8% |
| Fiddle, choir, guitar, jigging | 1 | .9% |
| Fiddle, band | 1 | .9% |
| Fiddle, choir | 11 | 9.9% |
| Fiddle, choir, band | 1 | .9% |
| Fiddle, guitar, piano | 3 | 2.7% |
| Fiddle, country & western | 2 | 1.8% |
| Fiddle, country, choir | 1 | .9% |
| Fiddle, drums | 1 | .9% |

### 6.5 Choices for school music classes

| Class or combination of classes | Number | (%) |
|---|---|---|
| Guitar | 11 | 9.9% |
| Guitar, piano | 1 | .9% |
| Guitar, accordian | 1 | .9% |
| Guitar, band | 1 | .9% |
| Guitar, choir | 2 | 1.8% |
| Choir | 3 | 2.7% |
| Choir, piano | 1 | .9% |
| Piano | 1 | .9% |
| Piano, band | 1 | .9% |
| Band | 2 | 1.8% |
| Country & western | 2 | 1.8% |
| No answer | 6 | 5.4% |
| Total | 111 | 99.9%* |

* Rounding error.

71.2% of responses included fiddling, making it, or a combination of fiddling and another instrument, the most popular choice. Other frequent choices included a fiddle/guitar combination (40.5%), fiddle/choir (25.2%, and fiddle/guitar/choir (13.5%). It appears that the adults of the community would like the children to have the opportunity to participate in music programmes which reinforce what is occurring in the culture, fiddling and singing. Dancing, however, was only given as an answer five times and specified as jigging or powwow dance. The children or many of them, are already skilled jig dancers as seen both at Folklorama[2] in Winnipeg and at the talent contest in May, 1987. Possibly parents and others do not feel that jigging instruction is necessary in the school.

Sixty-five people or 58.6% strongly support a music programme in the school while thirty-three or 29.7% would give moderate support. Thirteen persons did not answer the question but no one indicated that they were against music programmes or not interested.

A majority of respondents (35.1%) indicated that they would support a music programme in the school 'to continue the Indian culture'. 28.8% indicated that they supported such classes 'to give children an interest in music'. These two reasons were given in combination by a further 25.2%. One person checked all possible reasons, three persons did not answer and one person was not sure why he supported such classes. All the musicians who answered the questions indicated the continuance of Indian culture motivated their support.

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2. Folklorama is a cultural festival held annually in Winnipeg. Between thirty and forty ethnic groups participate, each having their own pavilion where ethnic food is served; ethnic music and dance performed; and ethnic artifacts displayed. The event is held over a two week period in August and is co-ordinated by the Folk Arts Council of Manitoba. The people, particularly the children, of Ebb and Flow are very active participants in the entertainment with their displays of jigging.

Only eight people (7.2%) said that they had had music lessons, three each at non-native schools and with private teachers and two at native schools. However, a number of people who had not had lessons wrote in comments saying that they played by ear, they were self-taught and some, that they could not read music even though they played an instrument. All the musicians in the group played the fiddle, or fiddle and guitar and every one of them said he was self-taught. 74.8% of the whole group had friends or relatives who played an instrument this almost always being a fiddle and guitar as well as a variety of other instruments of which drums were frequently mentioned. Two people specified Indian drums and rattles.

The results of this questionnaire among the adults of the community suggested that fiddling is regarded by the people as 'native Indian music'; that fiddling is the music most commonly heard in the community; and that among the 40 years and older group fiddling is their music of choice.

This apparent predilection for fiddling is carried over into the educational choices expressed for music programmes in the school. Two conclusions could be drawn from this. Firstly, the people would like music instruction to reflect the musical culture of the community or, secondly, fiddling is the music with which they are familiar and thus they were unable to make any other educated choice. As a large number supported music programmes in the school to 'continue Indian culture' one must assume that the first conclusion is the logical one to make. Another conclusion to be drawn is that the adult population may be aware of the fact that the younger generation is not playing the fiddle to the extent that the members of their own generation do and did. Their remarks about the children not being willing to practice and the absence of any children playing the fiddle in the community bear this out. The adults may think that formal music lessons, including fiddling, could address this seeming disappearance of fiddling. The situation does not seem to be the same with jigging as the children are still avid dancers and are very evident at events involving jigging.

Traditional Ojibwa music does not have a very great part to play in the daily life of Ebb and Flow, the observer hearing an old song sung only once and there being few indications that adults thought that it was an important part of a music curriculum. Fiddling appears to be the music that has been adopted by the group and has, at the present time, supplanted other musics, but, in investigating an elementary age group and the music curriculum in the Ebb and Flow school, this propensity for fiddling and jigging is less emphatic and not reinforced by school programmes at all.

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## Music Education at Ebb and Flow School

Investigation of the music programmes in the school consisted of the writer examining the music curriculum of the Manitoba Department of Education, interviewing elementary students and their teachers, actually observing in the classrooms of elementary grades, and observing musical events in the daily life of the school as well as special events such as the Christmas concert in early December, 1986. The preliminary investigations of the summer of 1986 had indicated that there had been no formal music programme in the school to date but this situation had changed to some extent by the beginning of the 1986-1987 school year.

### 1. The music curriculum - Manitoba Department of Education.

The music curriculum used in Manitoba schools for grades K - VI was revised and approved for use in 1978, based on the assumption that a knowledge of music will lead to an increased enjoyment of and participation in music throughout life. It is described as a sequential and developmental programme for concepts in music and each of the skills of listening, singing, playing instruments, music reading and creating music. The programme deals with rhythm, melody, harmony, form and tone colour with skills to be learned organized under these headings. The curriculum guide recommends ninety minutes of music instruction per cycle for elementary students. It also emphasizes parental support in the form of participation and the encouragement of students to attend class as essential to the success of the programme.

The curriculum guide details programme, teaching and learning goals for the whole programme and lists core objectives for each of the six years of elementary education.

#### a. Programme goals.

i. To help students to develop their own aesthetic potential.

ii. To help students make music and listen to it so that it may form a life-long source of pleasure and personal enrichment.

iii. To cultivate the skills of the music discipline in order to enhance the development of music in the students.

iv. To provide an outlet for creativity and self-expression.

v. To develop aural, visual and motor coordination.

vi. To help students become acquainted with their own culture as well as other cultures.

vii. To help the social developmental of students.

**b. Teaching goals.**

i. To help the student develop his potential for creativity and self-expression.

ii. To provide a sequential programme of skill and concept development related to making and understanding music.

iii. To provide a well-rounded programme by diversifying musical experiences.

iv. To develop evaluation devices for determining the effectiveness of the music programme.

v. To correlate music instruction with the other areas of the total school curriculum.

vi. To provide listening experiences that may form a life-long source of pleasure and personal enrichment.

**c. Learning goals.**

The student should demonstrate an increasing ability to:

i. Make music, alone and with others.

ii. Use music vocabulary and notation.

iii. Respond to music in many ways, such as creative movement and verbal expression.

iv. Understand the role music plays in today's society.

v. Understand the historical development of music.

vi. Perceive the value of the music of other cultures.

The guide also includes resource materials to assist the teacher and supplement the basic material. None of the listings given pertain to native Canadian music and the references cited include very little traditional native Canadian material.

This curriculum, approved for use in Manitoba in 1978, underwent an evaluation process which was reported in 1986. This report, released seven years after the initiation of the curriculum, documented results that were not encouraging, indications being that the curriculum objectives were not being met. (Manitoba Music Educator, 26(1):7-12) Insufficient time was being allotted to music instruction; teachers of music were not specialists; student skills were not developed beyond a basic level; students had information about music but little experience of it; aural skills were deficient; and at least 5% and possibly more students received no music instruction at all.

The findings of this assessment only serve to emphasize some of the findings of this study. The problem of music instruction across the whole of Manitoba needs to be addressed. The curriculum guide is only part of the answer as there are also questions of teacher training, increased instructional time, refresher courses for music specialists and attention to who is teaching music.

In Frontier School Division #48, the personnel directory for 1986-1987 lists only one teacher having music as a teaching subject in Area 2, into which Ebb and Flow falls. Some teachers are only listed by the grade that they teach and thus there could be more with music training. In the whole division only six persons are listed as teaching music and two of these teach other subjects as well. The finding of the special report reported that much music teaching was by assignment rather than by qualification. Considering the size of Frontier School Division #48 this situation must prevail most of the time and be the rule rather than the exception. At Ebb and Flow school there is no music specialist either geographical or itinerant and one finds the newly organized music programme to be supervised and run by teachers who have other assignments as well. 2.

**The music curriculum at Ebb and Flow School.**

The writer visited Ebb and Flow School on two occasions during his research, once in December, 1986 and once in May, 1987. These visits involved discussions with teaching staff, observation of school and class activities and the administration of a questionnaire to the elementary students of grades III, IV, V, and VI as well as to the staff.

Music programmes at the school are not yet well developed and have been implemented at the elementary levels only. The principal said:

> We introduced a music programme for the first time in October, 1986. We send a teacher to a nearby school and they send a teacher to teach grades K - III for two and half hours per cycle.
> We do not follow the Manitoba curriculum guide at the moment. We have mainly singing for the little children at this stage. For grades IV - VI one of our grade VI teachers who has a knowledge of music teaches. There is no music education for grades VII - XII in junior and senior high. (The Principal, Ebb and Flow School, Dec. 1986)

The teacher from Lakefront School comes in to teach the three younger grades while and the grade III home room teacher also does some musical work with his own class. The grade VI home room teacher and the school physical education specialist teaches grades IV, V, and VI music. The teacher from Lakefront and the grade III are designated in the personnel directory by the grades they teach and the grade VI teacher as a Physical Education teacher. The latter two have a special interest in music and have been assigned the responsibility for elementary music classes by virtue of their personal interest and talent rather than by reason of their qualifications. In December the school was busy preparing for the Christmas festivities and in May the Lakefront teacher was unable to come in for his usual classes so the writer did not meet him personally although the grade III and grade VI teachers described his music classes.

The normal school day at Ebb and Flow School starts with the playing of the Canadian national anthem over the intercom system. All the children stand respectfully at attention whether in their classrooms or, being late, in the halls. The staff and clerical staff interrupt what they are doing and stand respectfully too. At the end of the anthem everyone resumes their work and goes about their daily activities. During the course of his time there the writer was permitted to sit in on any classes he wished and to talk to the staff during breaks. Most time was spent in the grade VI class and with grade three. Grades IV and V were visited during their music periods. Discussion elicited the following information.

The musical instruments available at Ebb and Flow School are a piano, recorders, an accordion and rhythm instruments for Kindergarten. No native instruments such as drums or rattles are used. No native music is taught as music nor is there any instrumental instruction at present, although the guitar and piano are used to accompany the most usual musical activity, singing. The grade VI teacher said:

> I did start teaching the basics of music notation and how to read music but the children became very restless so I switched to singing which they really enjoy. (Gr. VI teacher, Ebb and Flow, May, 1987)

Questions about the cultural content of classes other than music elicited the information that items recommended in the provincial curriculum guide were introduced in the areas of social studies, native history and religion and music as they pertained to that history. There is no native language instruction except for grade VII whose home room teacher is native and he teaches a little Saulteaux. The performance of the Sun Dance in the social studies class has been mentioned. The principal added that:

> A native pow wow dancing group came from another reserve and performed in the gymnasium. The students gave them a standing ovation. They really enjoyed the group and it was a good thing in that it gave them (the children) a consciousness of native cultural identity and of self-esteem. Not only have an outside group been here but we have our own dance group of students who were taught by a local Ojibwa traditional dancer from the community. These dancers have performed at the school several times over the past five years. These students learned to dance in the community and it is not part of the regular school curriculum. (Principal, Ebb and Flow, May, 1987)

Several students in the elementary grades told the writer:

> We have a good time dancing the old traditional dances. Before we learned this we did not know how to dance them and we hadn't heard Indian drumming except on T.V. (Grade VI students, Ebb and Flow, May, 1987)

The grade VI home room teacher is also the Physical Education teacher and also has been assigned to teaching music to grades IV - VI. She described her personal musical background:

> When I was very young I became interested in music. At the age of ten I received my first guitar, and fell in love. I spent the next five years taking guitar lessons while I learned how to read music, sing, write music and play the recorder. Out of boredom and frustration I quit taking music lessons for two years. In high school I took two years after purchasing a classical guitar. During that time I played in two rock bands, learned how to play classical guitar, and bought my first twelve string acoustic guitar. I became involved in coffee houses and many campfire sing-a-longs with the local Parks and Recreation Branch. Through my university career I played and sang at many weddings and lounges (bars) in Winnipeg.
>
> This is my first year of formally teaching music. I feel my background in recreation has helped add new games

> and ideas to my curriculum. I love teaching music! (Grade VI teacher, Ebb and Flow, May, 1987)

She has developed a music plan for use with the children for whom she is responsible. This curriculum is the same for all three grades in view of the fact that none have had any prior exposure to formal music instruction. She says:

> The children enjoyed learning how to read music. Unfortunately I did not have an instrument for each child to practise on. Furthermore, the students soon tired of the "work" and wanted to go back to singing. I learned that I would have to incorporate musical notation, instruments, and singing together to keep my students motivated. (Gr. VI teacher, Ebb and Flow, May, 1987)

She outlined her curriculum for the writer as follows:

**Songs.**

- singing in unison
- rounds
- cannons
- action songs
- echo
- traditional
- country and western
- folk
- pop
- camp songs

These incorporate rhythm, melody and beat.

**Instruments Used.**

- drum (hand)
- tamborine
- recorder
- triangle
- whistle
- clapper
- xylophone
- wood block
- brass cymbals
- jingle bells
- bongo drum
- rhythm sticks
- kazoo

**Identification of instruments.**

**Classification of instruments.**

- woodwind
- brass
- string
- percussion

**Musical Games.**

- Do Re Me
- Echo clapping
- Musical chairs
- Hand jive
- Name that song

**Create a song.**

- rhymes

**Music Identification.**

- country and western
- folk

- classical
- rock
- choir

### Musical notation.

a. Musical symbols
  - treble clef
  - staff
  - measure
  - bar lines
  - time signature
  - sharp
  - flat
  - repeat sign
  - double bar

b. Notes.
  - half
  - full
  - quarter
  - eighth
  - quarter note rest

She also listed the songs that she commonly uses to teach her classes. These include some of the skills that she would like the students to learn.

### Songs used.

Sho Fly
My Aunt Came Back - A & E
The Tree Song - A & E
Singing in the Rain - A & E
On Top of Spaghetti - unison
Flea Fly - E
Tongo - E
Kum Ba Yah
Old MacDonald
Hi, My Name is Joe
The Bear Song
Canoe Song
Smile
Ging Gang Gooli

Country Roads
I'm a Country Boy
Mama, Don't Let Your Baby
Let It Be
Blowin' in the Wind
Sunshine on my Shoulder
Yellow Submarine
A Fly Walked into a Grocery Store
Three Little Angels
Boom, Boom, Ain't It Great to be Crazy
If You're Happy and You know it
Chester, Have You Heard About Harry
Land of the Silver Birch
Mama's Little Baby Loves Bannock

This researcher observed this teacher work with grades IV, V and VI. She had very limited time at her disposal for these classes and the time, often only fifteen minutes, flies by quickly. She uses her guitar to accompany the children and after announcing what they are going to sing, strums a chord to get everyone in key. The students all stand up to sing (often Country Boy while being observed) and use hand and body movements in time to the music.

As the lesson progresses the teacher encourages and instructs the class in a sing-song voice, keeping in tune with the melody or continues playing her guitar while making corrections. The grade IV students were very reluctant to leave at the end of the class, pleading to sing some more.

The grade V class also started with Country Boy which all the children in all the classes seemed to enjoy and sing with a lot of volume and energy. While singing, the words are projected onto a screen with an overhead projector.

In the grade VI class a new song was introduced to the children. The teacher sang the song and then asked the class to try it with her. Unlike the more familiar tunes they had already sung they sang much more quietly and with some uncertainty. After a few minutes the teacher switched back to a song they all knew and immediately everyone was more at ease and back to full volume. The children all enjoy songs with accompanying body movements and tend to select such songs when asked to choose. In none of the classes did the observer see the children using any small instruments.

The teacher used the same methods to teach each of these three classes but each class reacted somewhat differently. The grade V group were the most well-behaved while the grade VI class were much more tuneful but less disciplined in their behaviour. Grade IV seemed to enjoy themselves the most.

In order to find out the strengths of the student's musical knowledge the researcher did a mini-survey of the grade VI students who, according to the teacher, had had some theoretical instruction. The writer had already discussed the results of the informal test previously given to a few community students with her. At her suggestion a test was given to the whole class as she felt that generalizations could not be made from the community group and also that some of those children were particularly bright.

The test was made as simple as possible and included three areas, the concept of notation, the time values of notes generally and specifically and beat. The students were given four questions with notation (Fig. 6:2) and then asked to write down answer to the questions posed verbally.

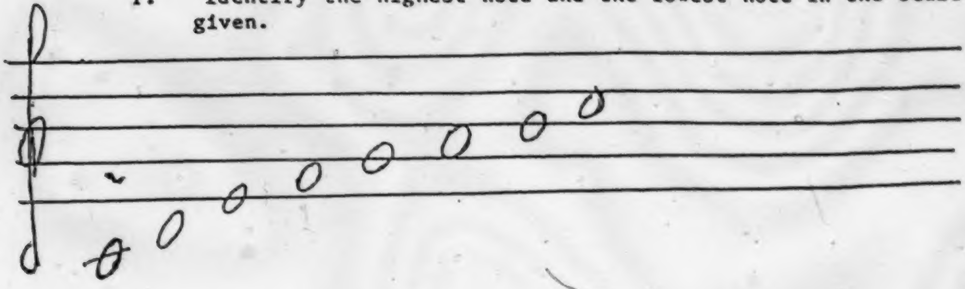
Fourteen out of twenty students were able to identify the lowest and highest notes in a simple scale of notes. Five children identified both the longest and shortest note values and another eight could correctly identify the longest note but not the shortest. Only one identified the half notes within a variety of note values while others chose a half note but included other notes as well in their answers. Seventeen of the students were able to fill in several bars with a simple beat, corroborating the grade III teacher's impressions of an innate rhythmic ability. Some (8) of the children attempted to use different notes on the scale to answer indicating some creativity and imagination (e.g. Fig. 6:3)

The grade VI teacher summarized her music programme, saying:

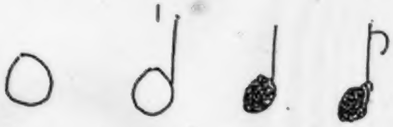
> Children love to play. I try to get my kids to play by using their hands. A desk top makes a simple drum and allows everyone to join in.
>
> My students seem to like songs and singing. They can never get enough. If I were to rate the types of songs they enjoy the most the list would be action songs, echo songs, popular radio songs (easy country and western or Beatles

FIGURE 6:2. QUESTIONS ASKED OF GRADE VI STUDENTS CONCERNING THEIR BASIC THEORETICAL MUSICAL KNOWLEDGE.

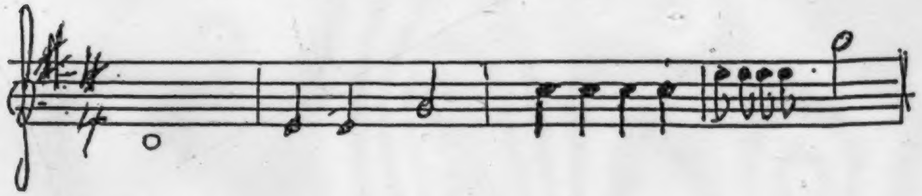
1. Identify the highest note and the lowest note in the scale given.



2. Identify the note with the longest time value and the shortest time value.



3. There are whole notes, half notes, quarter notes and eighth notes written below. Identify all the half notes.



4. Fill in the equvalent of two beats for each bar on the staff below.
(Remember the beat of Red River Jig)

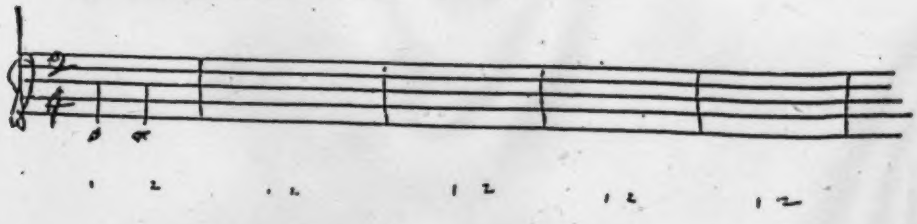
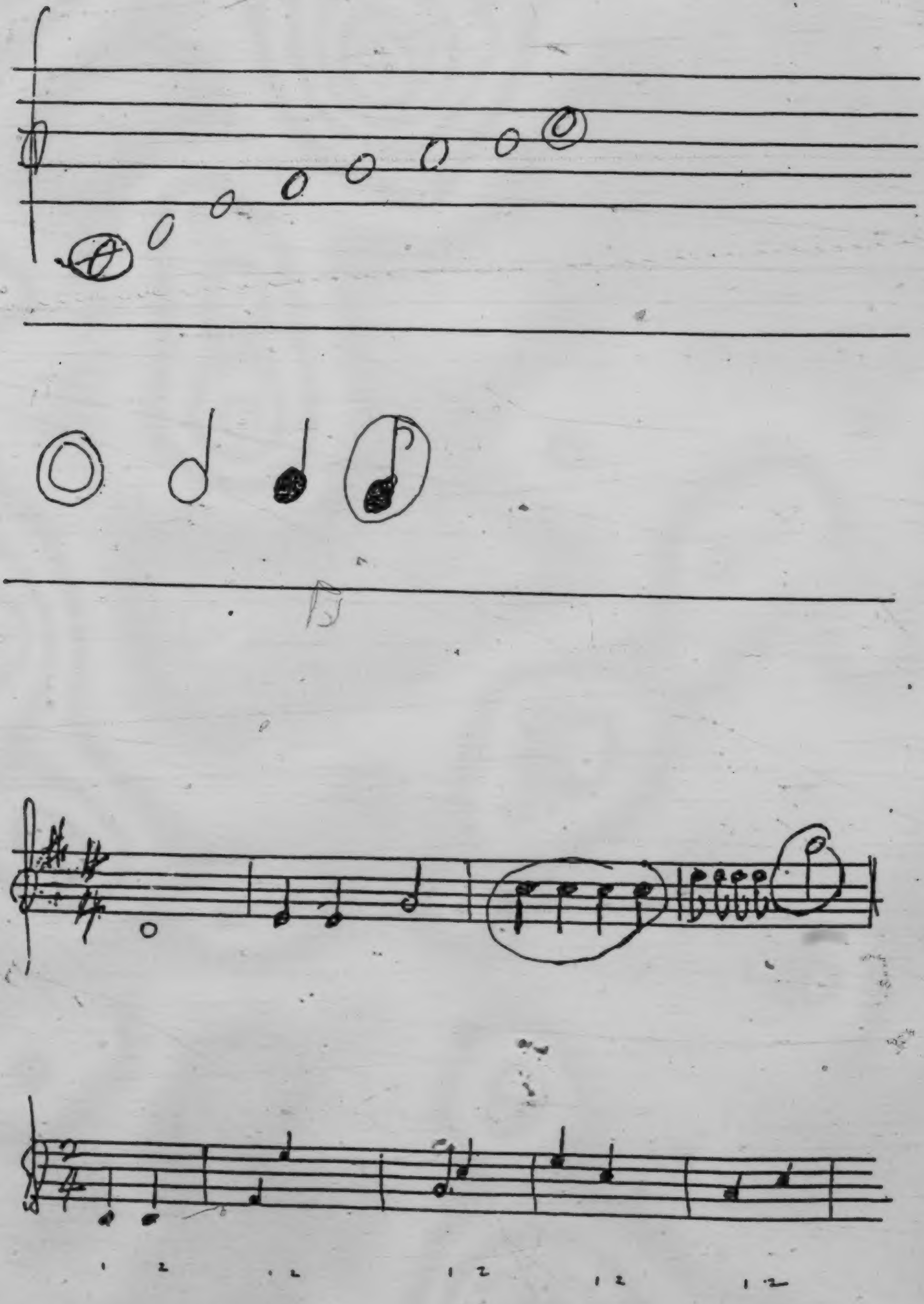


FIGURE 6:3 A GRADE VI STUDENT'S RESPONSE IN CLASS.


1 2
1 2
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1 2

> tunes), rounds and canons, silly camp songs.
>
> Not all my students like to sing. Some are very shy or think it is silly. I try not to pressure these individuals as they usually join in when they are ready.
>
> Grades IV, V, and VI have all performed songs in our monthly K - VI assembly. The children really seem to enjoy this. I don't want the kids to feel they have to perform so those who are comfortable, do.
>
> We have established a choir in our school just recently. Any students who wish to sing may come and join and are taught such concepts as voice tone and pitch, melody, harmony, voice projection and group commitment. The choirs first performance last week was a smash hit.
>
> The intermediate music programme at Ebb and Flow School is a necessary subject for the students. Interest and motivation are high. Thus I have tried to provide an interesting framework of musical concepts and build a foundation to grow upon. I am hopeful that financial support will come after community recognition is obtained. The possibilities are limitless. (Gr. VI teacher, Ebb and Flow, May, 1987)

In addition to the material gained by observation and discussion, some of the teaching staff and school staff responded to a questionnaire given in order to elicit their perceptions of the musical milieu of the community and their feelings regarding music programmes in the school. (TABLES PAGE 209, 210)

There were twenty-two teaching staff and twenty support staff at the beginning of the 1986-1987 year at Ebb and Flow school which has about three hundred students in grades K to XII. Thirteen of these staff responded to the same questionnaire given to the community adults, seven being members of the Ebb and Flow community, five not members, and one person not answering. Two of the respondents were native Indian. Seven indicated that they were teachers, three were teachers and musicians, one a musician and native leader as well as being a teacher, and one person did not respond. One person was a musician. Five (38.5%) were between 18 and 25 years old, four (30.7%) between 25 and 40 years old, four (30.7%) between 40 and 60 years old.

In contrast to the community population, six (46.2%) thought that fiddle music was what they would describe as Indian music: six (46.2%) indicated a pow wow type of music and one (7.7%) said country and western and fiddling. It would appear that teachers at the school were more likely to see Indian music as the commonly accepted 'traditional' genre rather than as the music actually played by the people themselves. Three of those who answered pow wow said they were community members and one of these three was native Indian. However, all of those who said they were teachers AND musicians perceived fiddling to be native Indian music while the one person identifying himself as only 'musician' answered 'powwow' to this question. Out of this admittedly small sample one can draw a few tentative conclusions. Both fiddling and pow wow were seen to be native Indian music by staff in the local school. The one male Indian musician, a community member, who answered pow wow should be the most qualified to answer the question. Nine native musicians in the community had perceived fiddling to be native music, three answered fiddling and pow wow and two answered pow wow only. In fact, the musicians in the community were some of the few that did respond 'pow wow' to this question. The only common element appears to be that most of them fall into a 18 - 40 year old age group indicating a possible increased awareness of those items that set them apart from the dominant society, an increased political awareness rather than a musical awareness. This can only be a guess on such flimsy evidence.

Seven persons (53.8%) designated country and western as being the music most commonly heard in the community, including the one person who had answered 'pow wow' to the previous question. Four persons identified fiddling and two did not answer.

There were a number of varied responses indicating the type of music school staff would like to hear; three answered fiddling; three indicated country and western; and the seven others selecting rock, popular music, all types of music, and other music.

All but one school staff member would like music classes in school and even—this one identified the type of music class he would like in the next question. The choices were almost as varied as those for the community with guitar, country and western/band predominating. No one suggested fiddling for a school music programme. Eleven (84.6%) strongly supported music classes while one indicated mild support and one indicated no interest.

Nobody thought that music should be used just to give children something to do, although two persons did not answer the question. Four people indicated that it would instill an interest in music. One person thought it would educate the children and one indicated that it would serve to motivate, interest and involve more students in extracurricular activities and help students develop an appreciation and knowledge of the arts as well as continue native culture. Two people indicated that it would give children something to do and give them an interest in music and two others said that it would give the children an interest in music as well as continue Indian culture. The main thrust of the answers was toward instilling an interest in music and the continuance of native culture was only of secondary importance.

Seven of the staff had had some music training, one at university level and the rest at school or with private teachers. The instruments on which they had some skill included violin, guitar, piano, organ and trumpet. Nine of them had friends and relatives who played a wide variety of instruments.

Elementary teachers were also asked to comment on their use of music in the classroom, their observation of children using music outside the classroom and any other relevant musical behaviour. Two teachers responded to this in detail while two others indicated that the children enjoyed rock, country music and break dancing when this was a fad.

The grade III teacher responded as follows:

> Music is offered two days per cycle in the Ebb and Flow grade 3 classroom. One day features a travelling music teacher from Lakefront school. He plays piano and uses it to sing songs, play musical games, and explore rhythm. Small motor skills are given a chance to develop as well through marching, walking etc. to a beat.
>
> The other day is done by the home room teacher who is a trained trumpet player and self-taught guitar/keyboard player. On this day the class sings songs with the teachers lead and accompaniment. Words are written on a large sheet.
>
> I find that chants, rhymes etc. are not as common among the native people as you would find in large urban centres. Theory language barrier, smaller population to draw from.
>
> During the breakdance craze/Michael Jackson era I noticed an upswing in music interest. Many native children have excellent rhythm and the strong beat of songs like "Thriller" seemed to really emphasize this. (Grade III teacher, December, 1986)

The grade VI teacher, took a great deal of trouble to answer the writer's questions. She said, of the children:

> In our classroom music is used in social studies when we are studying other cultures and various native tribes. During this Christmas season we have used Christmas songs in phys. ed., social studies, art, and of course, music.
>
> Outside the classroom the students listen to rock and roll and country and western music. Small rhymes and camp songs are taught in phys. ed. and the children sing those songs. (Gr. VI teacher, December, 1986)

This innate rhythmic ability commented on by the grade III teacher is borne out by the observation of their skill at jigging, which is not a part of classroom musical activity and was not strongly desired by community adults. Actual music in the classroom appears to be centered around singing and movement, obvious choices for small children as these allow everyone to take part whether talented musically or not.

The children of the elementary grades IV - VI also answered a questionnaire at school, this being the simplest method of administering it. It was hoped that they too would give some indications of their perceptions of music in their culture and of their desires regarding music instruction.

**TABLE 6:6**

Demographic Data - Children, grades III-VI, Ebb and Flow school.

| | | Gr.III<br>n = 21 | Gr.IV<br>n = 17 | Gr.V<br>n = 23 | Gr.VI<br>n = 20 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Residence | Ebb and Flow reserve | 15 (71.4%) | 17 (100%) | 23 (100%) | 19 (95%) |
| | Other | 1 (4.8%) | | | 1 (5%) |
| | No answer | 5 (23.8%) | | | |
| Ancestry | Native Indian | 18 (85.7%) | 17 (100%) | 23 (100%) | 17 (85%) |
| | Other | 1 (4.8%) | | | 2 (10%) |
| | No answer | 2 (9.5%) | | | 1 (5%) |
| Sex | Male | 10 (47.6%) | 10 (58.8%) | 12 (52.2%) | 11 (55%) |
| | Female | 11 (52.4%) | 7 (41.2%) | 11 (47.8%) | 9 (45%) |
| Age | 8 | 16 (76.2%) | | | |
| | 9 | 4 (19%) | 2 (11.8%) | | |
| | 10 | 1 (4.8%) | 14 (82.4%) | 14 (60.9%) | 1 (5%) |
| | 11 | | | 8 (34.8%) | 11 (55%) |
| | 12 | | 1 (5.9%) | 1 (4.3%) | 2 (10%) |
| | 12 1/2 | | | | 1 (5%) |
| | 13 | | | | 4 (20%) |
| | 14 | | | | 1 (5%) |

All the children except seven were residents of Ebb and Flow Reserve; two were not and five did not answer. Three were not of native ancestry and three did not answer the question, the other seventy-five being native Indian. The group was divided almost equally between boys and girls, there being forty-three boys and thirty-eight girls. Their ages ranged between eight and fourteen with thirty seven percent being ten years old. (Table 6:6)

**TABLE 6:7**

**Community musical data - Grades III-VI, Ebb and Flow School.**

| | Gr.III<br>n = 21 | Gr.IV<br>n = 17 | Gr.V<br>n = 23 | Gr.VI<br>n = 20 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| What is Indian music? | | | | |
| Fiddle | 15 (71.4%) | 5 (29.4%) | 1 (4.3%) | 11 (55%) |
| Fiddle/rock | 1 (4.8%) | 2 (11.8%) | | |
| Fiddle/rock/pow wow | 1 (4.8%) | | | |
| Fiddle/pow wow | 2 (9.5%) | 2 (11.8%) | | |
| Rock | 1 (4.8%) | 1 (5.9%) | 1 (4.3%) | |
| Jigging | 1 (4.8%) | | | |
| Pow wow | | 2 (11.8%) | 21 (91.3%) | 8 (40%) |
| Country and western | | 3 (17.6%) | | 1 (5%) |
| Fiddle/country | | 2 (11.8%) | | |
| What kind of music is played where you live? | | | | |
| Fiddle | 17 (80.9%) | 6 (35.3%) | 4 (17.4%) | 5 (25%) |
| Fiddle/rock | 1 (4.8%) | | | |
| Fiddle/rock/pow wow | 1 (4.8%) | | | |
| Rock | 1 (4.8%) | 1 (5.9%) | 7 (30.4%) | |
| Fiddle/pow wow | 1 (4.8%) | 3 (17.6%) | | |
| Country and western | | 4 (23.5%) | 4 (17.4%) | 14 (70%) |
| Pow wow | | 1 (5.9%) | 1 (4.3%) | 1 (5%) |
| Fiddle/country | | 2 (11.8%) | 4 (17.4%) | |
| Country/rock | | | 1 (4.3%) | |
| Fiddle/country/pow wow | | | 1 (4.3%) | |
| No answer | | | 1 (4.3%) | |

Thirty-two students or 39.5% of the whole group considered fiddling to be Indian music. Fifteen of these however, came from grade III and eleven from grade VI. The grade IV students had widespread ideas of what constituted Indian music and 91.3% of the grade V class answered pow wow. There is no obvious explanation for this heavy concentration of a specific response in grade V except that the students may have recently had social studies or history lessons that pinpointed native music and dance. Their answers did not appear to be influenced by what they heard at home as the answers to that question indicated a number of combinations of which pow wow was only included twice. Again, the grade III students said that fiddle music was what was played at home with 39.5% of the whole group answering in a similar fashion and 27.2% indicating country and western. This latter response was the most frequent one for grade VI students.

56.7% of all the students polled had had music lessons, 29.6% had not and 13.6% did not respond. The majority of students (46.2%) said that their instructor had been a school teacher and 33.3% that it had been a friend or relative. It is interesting to note that no grade VI students considered that their instructor had been a school teacher when, as has been noted, they were even then receiving music instruction at school. (Table 6:8)

**TABLE 6:8**

**Students' Music Instructors.**

| **Instructor** | **Grade III n = 21** | **Grade IV n = 17** | **Grade V n = 23** | **Grade VI n = 20** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Friend/Relative | 4 (19%) | 1 (5.9%) | 1 (4.3%) | 7 (35%) |
| Private teacher | 1 (4.8%) | | | 5 (25%) |
| School teacher | 5 (23.8%) | 4 (23.5%) | 9 (39.1%) | |
| Private schoolteacher | | | | |
| Friend/relative/private teacher | | | 1 (4.3%) | 1 (5%) |
| No answer | 11 (52.4%) | 12 (70.6%) | 12 (52.2% | 7 (35%) |

The instruments in which they had received instruction included guitar, piano, organ, drums, ukulele, singing and dancing. Only four had received any teaching on the fiddle but twelve had had some guitar instruction. On being asked if they would like music lessons 88.8% answered yes. Twenty-six (32.1%) wanted guitar lessons, and most of these were in grade VI. Eight (9.9%) wished for piano instruction and fourteen (17.3%) wanted fiddle instruction or a combination of fiddle/piano or fiddle/guitar. Guitar seems to be the preferred instrument. All the choices for instruction are shown in Table 6:9.

**TABLE 6:9**

**Music Instruction Choices in Grades III - VI.**

| Instructional choice | Grade III n = 21 | Grade IV n = 17 | Grade V n = 23 | Grade VI n = 20 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Guitar | 8 (38.1%) | 4 (23.5%) | 2 (8.7%) | 12 (60%) |
| Piano | 2 (9.5%) | 1 (5.9%) | 4 (17.4%) | 1 (5%) |
| Fiddle | 4 (19%) | 3 (17.6%) | 4 (17.4%) | 1 (5%) |
| Fiddle/Piano | 1 (4.8%) | | | |
| Fiddle/Guitar | 1 (4.8%) | | | |
| Guitar/Piano | 2 (9.5%) | 1 (5.9%) | | |
| Guitar/Pow wow | 1 (4.8%) | | | |
| Guitar/Pow wow/Choir | 1 (4.8%) | | | |
| Choir | | 4 (23.5%) | | |
| Country & western | | 1 (5.9%) | 1 (4.3%) | 4 (20%) |
| Rock | | 1 (5.9%) | 11 (47.8%) | |
| Pow wow | | | | 2 (10%) |
| No answer | 1 (4.8%) | 1 (5.9%) | | |
| Other | | | 1 (4.3%) | |

Discussion with fiddlers brought to light that they do participate or hope to participate in the musical education of children.

Lawrence Flett indicated that:

> About 35 miles south is Sandy Bay Reserve, much larger than Ebb and Flow. Education is locally controlled there.

> They have just started regular movement and dance education classes. They needed a native fiddle player so I and my band go twice a week. The children in that class have live music and we accompany them with many of our traditional local tunes. They don't pay us much but we go for the children. The same group played here at Ebb and Flow last Christmas for the Christmas concert but they don't have a regular class here. (Lawrence Flett, May, 1987)

Thus it can be seen that local fiddlers are interested in sharing their knowledge and expertise in the local school programme but this has not happened at Ebb and Flow.

Reggie Bouvet also had thoughts about the continuance of the local fiddling tradition and his own possible role. He told the writer that, after the talent contest, some elementary age children had come up on the stage. One of them said, "Your music is so beautiful. Could you teach me? I would like lessons. No one teaches at the school and we have no chance to learn." Mr. Bouvet had to reply that he was from Winnipeg and travelled a lot so he could not take on any students. This incident illuminates the fact that children are inspired and motivated by a good player. Even if this was only a response to the excitement of the moment, how much could an interested and talented teacher do in conjunction with some of the very expert local players.

Back in Winnipeg, the writer visited Reggie Bouvet to replace a bow that he had borrowed to play as a guest at the talent show and had inadvertently cracked. In the course of conversation Mr. Bouvet said:

> In the past, a lot of native people were anxious to learn music. Today, only a few learn. It is very important to continue the tradition so we should teach. Nowadays, however, things have changed and no one wants to work hard. Even so, the tradition has to go on.
>
> This is so, not only in Manitoba but all across the northern part of western Canada. About three years ago, I was invited to play in Inuvik. At the concert there were three or four Inuit. All the rest were Indian and metis.

> The most popular tunes were the traditional fiddle tunes, especially the Red River Jig which they asked for over and over again. (Reggie Bouvet, Winnipeg, May, 1987)

He said that he had been approached by some parents and school personnel who said that they were building a brand new school and that they wanted a music programme in the native tradition of which one important component would be fiddling. They were impressed by his style of fiddling and asked if he would consider teaching at their new school. Mr. Bouvet had to regretfully decline due to other commitments but he said to the writer:

> I'm interested in teaching after I retire. We should encourage native music education in the school and in the community but there are very few teachers. A little boy was once sent from northern Saskatchewan to live in Winnipeg so that I could give him some lessons. He already played the fiddle. He later went back home and has won several fiddling competitions. The boy and his father were very pleased and later sent me $100.00 with a letter of appreciation. (Reggie Bouvet, Winnipeg, May, 1987)

There is no evidence at the school that native musicians from the community have been involved in Ebb and Flow School music programmes except for their performances on special occasions such as Christmas or the Sundancers in the gymnasium. However, David Yeo, the Area II Superintendent in his report "Directions 1986 - 1990" has outlined problems in the area and ways of resolving these. He writes, in relation to cultural heritage:

> . . . an increased emphasis on cultural days and cultural events. I will be asking the Native Language Consultant of Frontier School Division, along with selected area II teachers and some of native ancestry, to examine ways and means of improving and increasing the academic emphasis on cultural heritage. As a result of their work, I would expect that we could see an increase in native content in our programming, as well as special events and special days to celebrate the native heritage of so many of our students. (Yeo, 1986:41)

Yeo's future plans for the area include a review of programmes and opportunities in the arts, including music, with a view to improvement in programming and increased opportunities. (ibid: p.49)

The philosophy of the division in regard to early childhood education at Ebb and Flow includes statements such as, "The cultural background of each child is appreciated and considered important for instructional purposes." and "Staff are committed to developing programming based on individual and cultural needs." (ibid: 82) These ideals relate closely to the tenor of this thesis but one will have to wait to evaluate their outcome.

At Ebb and Flow School it appears that there is a lively musical culture, a desire for music education, the beginnings of a music programme in the school, a pool of competent musicians in the community, and an educational philosophy open to the inclusion of cultural material in the curriculum. A summary of these factors and the conclusions to be drawn from them should lead to recommendations both for the music programme at Ebb and Flow School and, by implication, for programmes of native music education in Manitoba generally.

## CHAPTER VII

## DISCUSSION, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to investigate the importance of the musical culture in the life of the people at Ebb and Flow Reserve and relate this to the provision of music education in the local school. An investigation into the current musical practices of the group was undertaken and a review of music education opportunities and programmes in both the local school and in the community was conducted in order to understand what the people considered 'native Indian' music, whether this music was still practiced, and whether the people thought that the school music curriculum should reinforce the music of the community.

The research questions were formulated in order to guide the research and were as follows:

1. What music is practiced at Ebb and Flow that can be identified as the music of the people?
2. Are there any music education programmes to serve the needs of the people?
3. Do the people of Ebb and Flow Reserve perceive music education as needing to be socially relevant?

4. Does current musical practice on the reserve have any implications for local school music programmes?

## Discussion

### 1. Music practice at Ebb and Flow.

The 'music of the people' can be defined as the music which the people themselves claim and recognize as their own. It is an "independent style or genre that is accepted in its own right by the relevant group of people as being representative of their own musical identity. . . ." (Kartomi, 1981:245)

The findings of this study point to a lively musical culture consisting of fiddling and jigging in the Ebb and Flow community. Both community adults and children with the exception of the grade V class stated that fiddling was what constituted native Indian music and that this was what was commonly heard in the community. These questionnaire results were reinforced by the researcher's own observation that fiddling and jigging were the musical activities in which the people most usually participated. The multiplicity of good adult fiddlers and of those who are less expert but equally anxious to play has been documented. School staff were evenly divided between fiddling and pow wow being native music while the grade V class of children opted almost unanimously for pow wow. This latter response could not be explained in terms of the data gathered except to assume that material from other class studies had served to provide them with a concept of what should constitute native music.

Although over two thirds of the adult sample indicated that fiddling was what was commonly heard in the community, the 25-40 year old group indicated that country and western was what was usually heard and also what they would prefer to hear while almost half of the total sample preferred to hear fiddling.

This preference of the 25 - 40 year old group has implications for the children of the community. This group probably constitutes the parents of elementary age children and their musical preferences could influence the musical tastes of the children in elementary grades, and could account for some of the musical instruction preferences indicated by the elementary grades. This same adult age group did not express a preference for country and western as content for school music instruction.

It appears then that fiddling and its accompanying activity, jigging, is the musical culture of present day Ebb and Flow, and also that fiddling and jigging is seen as native Indian music. The adults also indicated that this same genre was what they wanted in a music education programme for their children, their reasons being 'to continue Indian culture' as well as 'to provide children with an interest in music.' This sequence links native music, fiddling and jigging, with Indian culture. Fiddling and jigging is representative of the musical identity of Ebb and Flow.

This study made no attempt to identify the reasons for the prevalence of this musical genre although the literature does indicate that fiddling has been adopted by the Indians over the last century. Apart from its entertainment value which could be fulfilled by many other musics, a possible reason for its pre-eminence is suggested in another study (Lea-McKeown, 1984) where fiddling could represent a means of achieving prestige in a society where male status is important. Such status can no longer be achieved through economically oriented activities such as hunting. Skill at fiddling, for males at least, has or may have been, substituted. The writer did not meet any female fiddlers and the only one actually mentioned was Del Garneau's mother. Another interesting facet of this male orientation toward musical virtuosity is that the writer was told firmly that girls could not play native drums. This was in response to the suggestion that perhaps more native style instruments could be incorporated into the school music programme. Drumming as a female activity is unacceptable. Can this prohibition be carried over into fiddling? Females may listen to and dance to fiddle music. Would it be acceptable for them also to play? This question is unanswered at the present time but the dearth of female fiddlers tends to indicate that this is indeed so.

Nonetheless, it was found that fiddling and jigging were the current musical culture in which the whole community participated to some degree. The male adults fiddle and jig. The female adults and the children jig but do not play the fiddle. They do play other instruments such as the guitar and the accordion.

### 2. Music education programmes at Ebb and Flow.

In the community is the ongoing informal oral tradition of fiddling and jigging with children hearing and observing the fiddling and actively participating in the jigging. They thus learn of the prevailing music culture to a limited extent in that they dance but they do not play. There do not appear to be any children who are 'up and coming' fiddlers. Del Garneau's grandson is the only one that the writer heard who could play a little.

The older adult fiddlers with whom this was discussed seemed to think that this was because the children were not as willing to practise as in the past. This, however, does not seem sufficient reason for the lack of fiddling among the children. The admiration for skilled fiddlers is still present but the motivation to emulate them appears to have gone. This is borne out in the childrens' responses to a question relating to the type of music instruction they would like to receive in school where there is a marked contrast between the music perceived as native and actually played in the community on the one hand, and their choice of instrument or instruments on the other. This choice was the guitar for at least one third of the students. This is comparable to the results of a study done at Fort Alexander on the east side of Lake Winnipeg (Lea-McKeown, 1984), where the young people, admittedly teenagers, preferred the guitar to play and rock music to which to listen.

The possibility that the elementary group are probably the children of the 25 - 40 year old adults whose musical preference was country and western, has already been mentioned. The younger children might tend to reflect the musical preferences of their parents although there is the influence of the larger Ebb and Flow community to consider also. What is perceived as native music and what is heard in the community, however, appears to have little relationship to instruction choices. Only one child in grade VI chose fiddle and six in grade III, while twelve (60%) in grade VI and thirteen (62%) in grade III chose guitar or a combination of guitar and another instrument. The young people of the community demonstrate a lack of active participation in fiddling and their choice for musical instruction reinforces this disengagement from the music of their home environment.

The writer suggests that the reason for this is as follows. In the larger society the guitar player as part of the country and western genre or as part of the 'rock scene' is the subject of adulation and is a star. The fiddler has status in the native Indian community only. In the eyes of a child, the guitarist has a secure income while the fiddler makes a precarious living. Does the child question the value of the fiddler in Canadian society as compared to the value of the guitarist? Is being a fiddler, however prestigious in the native community, likened to being Indian with all the negativest connotations that are attached to being 'Indian' in Canadian society. If this is true then just introducing fiddling and fiddle music into the local school curriculum is not going to solve the problem which lies at a deeper level. The solution lies in changing the self-image of the native person to himself and the image of the native in Canadian society so that he and his heritage and culture are seen as items to be valued by the whole of society.

Culturally based music education could contribute to this change in a small but significant manner. It could help to persuade the native child that his cultural repertoire, musical or not, is of value in that it has been included in the school programme. By being included in studies for all Canadian students it could help influence attitudes in a positive manner. Traditional Canadian native music, including fiddling or other musics adopted by persons of native ancestry could provide a beginning vehicle for the learning of musical concepts and an introduction to other musics. The Manitoba Conference on Multiculturalism in the School Curriculum held in Winnipeg in 1984 suggested the following:

> In view of the fact that almost unconsciously many cultures are denigrated by the dominant culture of the school . . . Curricula should be developed (in all areas) to encourage children to maintain an awareness and pride in their own cultural background and a respect for the cultural cries of all other cultural groups. (Manitoba Conference on Multiculturalism in the School Curriculum, May, 1984:5)

The musical tradition in the community vis-a-vis fiddling can not fulfill the apparent need of the culture to invest their musical energies in fiddling as there are no younger fiddlers. When the older generation dies there will be no one in the community to fulfill the mandate 'continue Indian culture.' In the case of fiddling, although not jigging, the oral tradition appears to have broken down. The end result is that there will be no fiddling in future years and neither will there be any jigging, depending as it does on fiddle music for its performance, unless the people choose to use recorded music. The current musical culture of the community will become a museum piece just as the old Ojibwa musical culture has done unless steps are taken to prevent its demise.

In the school there is a developing music programme which presently has no native content unless country and western music can be considered to have Indian connotations. The music programme is in a very infant stage and does not follow Manitoba curriculum guide recommendations for elementary music education. Miss Wimble hopes for community acceptance, financial aid and a better programme but did not specify what she envisages for the future. The adults of the community appear to want music classes that reinforce what is occurring in the culture, wishing to continue Indian culture and give the children an interest in music. The children of the elementary grades also want music instruction but their choices for this differ from those of the adults as already mentioned. Furthermore, the children in school did not appear to always perceive the music classes they were already participating in as music classes as a number of them indicated that their music instructors were friends and relatives or private teachers rather than school teachers. This may have been due to the fact that they were not receiving instrumental instruction in school and thus related the question to a person who had given them instrumental instruction rather than the more encompassing type of instruction they were beginning to get in school.

The school music programme as it is at present is not contributing to the perpetuation of the community music culture or to the intent of the area superintendent who advocates community involvement and increased cultural content in school curricula. The perceptions and attitudes of the teaching and other staff may inadvertently contribute to the lack of native content in the music curriculum. Although a number of them perceived fiddling or pow wow to be native Indian music and supported the idea of music classes in school, none of them identified 'fiddling' as a possible source of musical material or instruction for such classes. The continuance of native culture was of little importance as they appeared to identify with one of the more commonly accepted objectives of music instruction, namely, to give the individual a meaningful and ongoing interest in things musical.

The writer has already stated that the mere introduction of native Indian music, fiddling in this case, into the curriculum will not serve to motivate the child toward being interested in taking an active part in a musical culture that has become uniquely his, but implemented in a sensitive manner, it could serve to develop a human being who is proud to hold up his head as an Indian. An Indian philosophy of education is geared toward a knowledge of oneself rather than toward job skills. Tafoya, a British Coumbia native education consultant, said, "If you asked older Indian people the purpose of learning, they would say, 'To become a good human being,' not 'To become a good hunter or trapper or accountant.'" (Education Manitoba 12(5), 1985:12) This stance is reiterated by the National Indian Brotherhood who write:

> Unless a child learns about the forces which shape him: the history of his people, their values and customs, their language, he will never really know himself as a human being. Indian culture and values have a unique place in the history of mankind. The Indian child who learns about his heritage will be proud of it. The lessons he learns in school, his whole school experience, should reinforce and contribute to the image he has of himself as an Indian . . .
>
> A curriculum is not an archaic, inert vehicle for transmitting knowledge. It is a precise instrument which one can and should be shaped to exact specifications for a particular purpose. It can be changed and it can be improved. Using curriculum as a means to achieve their educational goals, Indian parents want to develop a program which will maintain balance and relevancy between academic skill objects and Indian cultural subjects. (National Indian Brotherhood, 1972:9)

Music can contribute significantly to this growth of the human being, proud of his culture, more perhaps than it can contribute, except for the gifted few, to the acquisition of skills useful in a technologically oriented society.

The oral tradition in the community, the hidden curriculum, the process of transculturation, no longer appear to be achieving this end. Despite the voiced hopes and expectations of the adults, the children are losing the musical skills of their forbears. The school programme with adequate intervention and implementation could assist in turning this situation around; could help to preserve something that is regarded by the people themselves as valuable and as Indian. However, is such a proposal relevant to the situation in which the people find themselves?

### 3. Do the people of Ebb and Flow perceive music education as needing to be socially relevant?

In the past, music played an integral part in Ojibwa society. It pervaded every aspect of life, authenticating the relationship of man to his natural environment and to the powers that he believed existed in the world. Music and song also served to integrate society in that they drew people together in acts of social solidarity. People celebrated, rejoiced in, lamented and influenced their daily lives through music. Music was socially relevant.

Today, the musical activities of the people are directed largely toward entertainment although it is still an integrating force in that it brings a specific group together. Fiddling, or the ability to fiddle, has been observed to be a means of attaining status in the community as skilled fiddlers are held in high regard. Another facet of the current musical practice that contributes to its social relevancy is that fiddling and jigging, the predominant genre, is considered to be 'native Indian music'. It is a cohesive force in that it is a cultural item that is considered by the people to be 'theirs'.

The very fact that a specific type of music has endured over a considerable length of time and continues to be practiced indicates that it is still important in the lives of the people even though there are some signs that this music and the significance attached to it may be diminishing. The relevancy of this music is linked to music education programmes. The adults of Ebb and Flow Reserve, in discussion and by their answers to the questionnaire, appear to think that music education and the music currently played in the community have some relationship in that they held that music classes should be used to continue Indian culture, a culture that is still relevant to them. Thus, by implication music education is of interest to them and its content should be socially relevant. The children in elementary grades, however, may not consider fiddle music or its propagation through music education to be relevant to themselves. They appear to be looking to other musical instruction, namely guitar, for their musical interests. The guitar and the rhythm it provides is an intrinsic part of the music culture at Ebb and Flow and yet it has wider application in the multiplicity of musics relevant to wider Canadian society. Whether it is the rhythmic qualities that appeal to the children or that guitar playing has some other significance, was not discovered in this study but it would seem reasonable to assume that guitar applications in country music and in the various types of rock music might hold more interest for children than do fiddle tunes.

Music education programmes could have social relevance in the community adults' perception provided they fulfil the need to assist in the continuation of native culture, thus being relevant to community culture as it presently exists. Music education is also relevant to the children provided it gives them the means to participate in a different music culture.

To the music educator social relevance may have little importance except as a means of stimulating the child toward the larger goal of music education, which is, to provide the individual with skills and concepts that will enrich him and give him a lifetime of pleasurable musical experience. The music teacher, however, has to start somewhere and where better than with the music of the child's own culture? Anderson (1983) says that music programmes should reflect the ethnic heritage both of the people concerned as well as that of the larger society. This stance is reiterated by Brooks-Baham who writes:

> To provide rich and relevant music instruction in the classroom, it would seem appropriate from a learning theory perspective to collect music materials that are indigenous to the local community. (Brooks-Baham, 1983:52)

Such an introduction to their own music could well lead to a probing of and an interest in the music of the Ojibwa past. It could promote a pride in Ojibwa culture and a pride in the heritage to which they may lay claim should they wish to do so.

In the acculturation process the natives of Ebb and Flow appear to have turned from what was their traditional musical culture and adopted the musical culture of impinging societies to the point of obliteration of the musics that were theirs when first contacted by the outside world. Is the old Ojibwa music and the more recent fiddling genre relevant in today's educational systems? Initially, this is a decision that the native himself must make, having been provided with all the available information. Should Indian educators and parents decide that this is not valuable then it would be useless to pursue it. The people of Ebb and Flow have given some indications that they believe music education should relate to the music of the culture, in the case of fiddling at least. This writer is convinced that such music does have a place not only in music education but also in history courses, language study, cultural studies, social studies and even in courses in psychology for the older student. The music is part of the group's cultural history and is thus relevant in that context. It could also be a means of introducing and reaffirming values, particularly in terms of the original culture, that the native people say they would like to promote. Thus it is relevant in the educational system, especially at the elementary level where it is easier to inculcate such values.

### 4. The implications of current musical practices in the Ebb and Flow community for school music programmes.

A discussion of the research questions has indicated that there is an identifiable music culture at Ebb and Flow; that the perceived educational needs of the people are not being met either in the community or in the school as they concern music; and that music education programmes, in the eyes of the people, should be socially relevant. Such findings imply that music education in the elementary grades at Ebb and Flow school could be adapted to form a culturally viable and sound basis for developing the musical identity of children in the school.

However, Ogbu (1981) suggests that studies focusing on the microethnology of the school or the community can only provide short-term, 'band-aid' type solutions to educational reform. The researcher should be willing to consider not only the local situation but all the influences, political, social, cultural and historical, that have impinged on a group in order to implement change that will be effective and truly achieve results. A detailed discussion of such influences as they touch upon music education is beyond the scope of this paper except to say they are the same influences that have affected the progress of Canadian Indian education since its inception and have only begun to be addressed in the last ten or fifteen years in areas of education that have priority such as language and social studies. The Canadian Indian had, in the past, been subjected to a policy of assimilation and had been dominated to the point where he no longer voiced an opinion in matters affecting him and no longer took a pride in the things that made him uniquely Indian. This situation is beginning to change but its effects are still very evident in the educational field where the meld between the values that the Indian holds dear and the skills that the wider society require for survival, is still very precarious. As the native people become more conscious of their predicament and more vocal about it, then will more and more effort be put into implementing curricula in all subjects that are relevant to his own situation in society. This applies also to music education where, at Ebb and Flow at least, some of the prerequisites for curriculum change and implementation may already be present. Wong (1984) lists factors critical to change and implementation and these are related to the situation in elementary music education at Ebb and Flow.

### a. Characteristics of the Innovation.

i. A perceived need for the change is present in that the adults of the community perceive that music education should be relevant to the current music practice of the community. The writer perceives a need for change in that the present music curriculum is not involving the children in music that has value for their culture and that their parents consider important. The teachers do not appear to perceive a need for change in the direction suggested as none of them responded that native music form part of the music curriculum.

ii. Explicitness and complexity of the change. The required change is explicit in that it would be toward the inclusion of culturally relevant material in that curriculum. However it is also complex in that it also requires that the change carries with it the values of native Indian culture. As these are seldom the values of Canadian society the change could be difficult.

iii. Availability of high quality materials. There are a wealth of both musical material and musicians in the Ebb and Flow community both of which could be used in the music curriculum. The children have a rich heritage of musical items handed down to them. The musical role models in the community are parents, relatives and many of the persons in positions of responsibility such as the chief and councillors, many of whom are active in music and dance or very supportive of music education. The first James Flett appears in the list of chiefs and councillors (Appendix C) and the Fletts are still musicians to be reckoned with. Houles and Baptistes and Mancheeses also appear and are some of the community's eminent musicians today. The tradition appears to have a long history with the skills and enthusiasm on the reserve suggesting a resource that could be tapped for school programmes.

**b. Characteristics of the school system level.**

i. A history of successful change in the music curriculum at Ebb and Flow cannot be demonstrated as it has only just begun. To date, the change from no music to some music is only partially successful in that the elementary children enjoy their music classes but appear to have a very tenuous grasp of musical concepts. It is too early to judge the programme which is short of time, money and space but if it is to be successful in the eyes of the community it will have to change and become more relevant.

ii. Wong states that there should be high expectations of principals in order that curriculum implementation be successful. David Yeo, the Area II superintendent has stated that the changes he envisages for the whole area are principal centered and that it is they that must bear the onus of successful change. He writes, "The principal's central responsibility is the creation of a people-centered, energizing culture or ethos." (Yeo, 1986:4) These expectations do not deal directly with the music curriculum but with the development of school where learning can be a successful and positive experience for both teachers and children. Such an atmosphere could be conducive to change in music programming at Ebb and Flow.

iii. Appropriate teacher and professional development has not yet been considered in the area of the music curriculum at Ebb and Flow where the teachers teach because they love music. For the successful implementation of change in the music curriculum considerable time and resources will have to be expended in the area of teacher development.

iv. Strong board and community support for music education has been demonstrated at the community level. If music education at Ebb and Flow does not develop into a strong culturally based programme this support could wither away as people find that their hopes and expectations have not been fulfilled.

**c. Characteristics at the school level.**

i. The principal's actions should support the curriculum implementation. At Ebb and Flow, since no change has occurred to date, this item is not yet relevant. The school principal was however supportive of this research and appeared interested in promoting a high quality, relevant music programme in the elementary grades.

ii. Teacher interaction with the exchange of ideas, experiences and methods is difficult for those who presently teach music in Frontier School Division #48 as the area is very large and there are few music specialists. Should a culturally based music curriculum ever become a viable entity this problem would need to be addressed and teachers given the opportunity to contribute to each other's knowledge and expertise. Teachers in this sense would also include community musicians who may have been co-opted into the programme.

**d. Factors external to the school are the Department of Education and other supporting agencies.**

The Department of Education has already expressed its concern over music education in Manitoba in general in the Special Report previously mentioned.

Their recommendations in that report are very supportive of professional development, financial support and ongoing research in the areas of music teaching and programming. Thus it is assumed that they would be supportive of a curriculum designed to improve the quality of music education in schools in general. It is toward this that the present study is directed with recommendations applicable to other Indian schools as well as that at Ebb and Flow.

**Recommendations.**

The recommendations made herein are based on the findings of this study and are influenced by the author's experiences among the people of Ebb and Flow Reserve.

1. Music education programmes should be based in the local native traditions with which the children are familiar. This would enable them to gain a better comprehension of the form, structure and function of music in their own cultural tradition. Educational methods to assist the transition from an oral to a formal, structured learning environment have to be developed by native culture specialists. Such specialists would need to come from various backgrounds such as ethnomusicology, cross-cultural music educators, ethnologists, native traditional musicians and curriculum specialists who have ethnographic field research experience in native education and culture.
2. Violin classes and fiddle music materials as well as jigging should be introduced at Ebb and Flow School to reinforce and preserve the local tradition. Fiddle music and dance go hand in hand and should be programmed together.

   Formally trained violin teachers would have great difficulty in teaching local fiddle styles as they would have to investigate and learn of the particular styles and forms of the oral tradition from the community specialists. The community musician, on the other hand, cannot teach in a formal structured manner as he often cannot read music and has never learned any formal musical concepts. Yet he has developed a unique tradition through informal methods that take a long time to learn. Thus both formally trained and those of the oral tradition and the methods of both are required in a music programme. Each will back up and reinforce the other and each will learn from the other. The traditionalist could teach under the guidance of the music specialist as he learned teaching skills while the specialist learned of the local music.

3. Native students evidence a talent for dancing to sophisticated rhythms accompanied by fiddle music. This strong rhythmic sense could be used as a basis for introduction to the reading and writing music. Music appreciation could also be grounded in this rhythmic sense. Almost all students at Ebb and Flow know how to dance and this would be an ideal starting point for music theory.
4. In the school native school orchestras should be encouraged using both the old native instruments and instruments more usual in an orchestra. Ojibwa hand drums could be used to provide the rhythm that accompanies fiddle music and also for native Indian dances and for jigging. The prohibition against girls playing drums would need to be investigated in this context.
5. In order to promote native culture music education, the development of native music specialist training courses should be encouraged in university education and music faculties. There are no such programmes of which the author is aware.
6. The Department of Education needs to promote a native music curriculum based in native cultural traditions within the framework of the general music curriculum.

7. There should be the encouragement of role model promotion. Music educators should give frequent live performances and workshops in native schools. Native students should perform both their old traditional music and dance and their fiddling traditions in their own schools and in the schools of other non-native groups in order to increase the awareness of both native culture and the native musician.
8. Cooperation between the Department of Education, school division and the universities is recommended so that there can be continued research into and promotion of native musical cultures and native musical education. This type of research should receive federal support. An invaluable resource could be lost if such research is not conducted.

## Concluding Thoughts.

This study and the literature review indicate that the musical behaviour of the Plains-Ojibwa in general and the people of Ebb and Flow in particular appears to have been focused on fiddling for a considerable length of time. This tradition appears to be in danger of disappearing if steps are not taken to prevent this.

In native Ojibwa culture music and dance are important components of social institutions but these are an ignored and an underdeveloped area in modern native education. There are no programmes and no teachers specializing in the area and this situation will only promote the disappearance of local musics.

There appears to be a genuine desire on the part of the people of Ebb and Flow for formal intervention in this situation in the form of culturally relevant music education programs in order to preserve the fiddling traditions of the community. The responsibility for this lies largely in the hands of educators with the help of the people themselves.

Initially, the development of concepts of tempo and the note values associated with specific beats could be linked to the children's dancing ability. The other musical concepts of melody, harmony, form, tone and colour could be introduced as children's rhythmic dancing skills could be expanded to include dance of other cultures and other time periods. The program goal of a music curriculum could thus be achieved by grounding them in the familiar music and dance of the native child, fiddling and jigging in this case, and then branching out into less familiar music which could provide the comparison and contrast upon which an aesthetic sense may be developed.

In conjunction with this, the musical ability and repertoire of the students would be increased as they learned skills involving simple instruments such as the drum and the flutes and also singing. Such skills would reinforce the more difficult musical concepts of harmony and tone.

Orchestra classes and the techniques involved in other instruments might be introduced as the children become more adept. It is important to begin with the familiar and work toward the less familiar, while maintaining the interest of the child. Thus, it is helpful to use as models, the ability of the children's own social group while leading them toward the music and concepts of other groups.

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# APPENDICES

# APPENDIX A

## MUSIC QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ADULTS

## MUSIC QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CHILDREN

## MUSIC QUESTIONNAIRE - COMMUNITY #________

1. Are you a member of the Ebb and Flow community? Yes.
(circle one) No.

2. Are you (circle one) Native Indian
Other.

3. Are you (circle as many as apply) Native leader
Teacher/educator
Musician.

4. Sex: Male Female.

5. Circle your age group: 12-17 years 18-25 years 25-40 years
40-60 years Older than 60.

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6. What music do you think of when people talk about Indian music?
(circle one) Country and Western Fiddle Music and Jigging
Powwow music. Other (explain).

7. What music is played most often in your community at the present time?
(circle one) Country and Western Fiddle and Jigging.

8. When is this music played? (circle as many as appropriate)
At home. Socials and dances. Special occasions. At school.
Other (please describe) ______________________________

9. What music would you like to hear played in your community.
Choose one that you like best. Country and Western. Fiddle
Music. Powwow. Other (describe) ______________________

10. Would you like music classes in school? (circle one) Yes No.

11. What kind of music would you like to have in school music classes?
Country and Western Fiddle Choir Band Guitar and other.

12. Would you support music classes in school? (circle one)
Strongly Mildly Not interested Against.

13. If you support music classes in school, why do you support them?
To give children something to do
To give children an interest in music
To continue the Indian culture
Other reasons (explain) ______________________________

14. Have you personally ever had any music training? (circle one)
Yes No.

15. If you have had music lessons, where did you have them?
Native school Non-native school Private teacher.

16. What kind of instrument or music did you learn?
Piano Guitar Fiddle Choir Band Organ
Other (describe) ______________________________.

17. Do your relatives or friends play an instrument (circle one)
Yes No.

18. What instruments do your relatives and friends play?
(circle as many as you like)
Piano Guitar Indian drums and rattles Other drums
Fiddle Organ Other (describe) .

## MUSIC QUESTIONNAIRE - ELEMENTARY STUDENTS #

1. Do you live on Ebb and Flow Reserve? (circle one) Yes No
2. Are you (circle one) Indian Other
3. Are you (circle one) Male Female
4. How old are you? ____________

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5. What kind of music do you think of when people talk about Indian music? (circle one)
   Country and western Fiddling and jigging
6. What kind of music is played most often where you live? (circle one)
   Country and western Fiddle music Powwow music
   Another kind of music (explain) ____________________
7. Have you ever had any music lessons? (circle one) Yes No
8. If you have had music lessons, who taught you? (circle one)
   Relative Private teacher Friend School teacher
9. If you have had music lessons, what instrument or music did you learn?
   Piano Guitar Violin/fiddle Choir Band Organ
10. Would you like to have music classes in school? (circle one)
    Yes No
11. What kind of music would you like to learn in school?
    Country and western Violin/fiddle Powwow Choir
    Band Guitar Another kind of music ____________

# APPENDIX B

## LETTERS

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AVIS

Department of Elementary Education,
Education Building South,
Faculty of Education.
University of Alberta.
Edmonton, Alberta.
T6G 2G5

August 10th, 1986

Mr.Strini Reddy, Superintendent,
Frontier School Division,
1402 Notre Dame Ave.,
Winnipeg, Manitoba.
R3E 3G5

Dear Sir,

I am a Ph.D. candidate in education at the University of Alberta, doing research in native music education which appears to be a very underdeveloped area in native schools.

I have observed the members of Ebb and Flow community and participated in their music cultural activities over the past fifteen years. Many of them have indicated that there is a need for research to be done in order to promote music culture education at the Ebb and Flow School, in the reserve. It is this research that I would like to undertake.

Since there is no music program at the school I have to depend heavily on community members for information and data. However, I need your permission to go into the school as I will require some time with the students. This would be arranged with the principal, at the convenience of the school and without any disruption of the normal school schedule.

I enclose copies of letters of support from the Manitoba Metis Federation and Mr.Lawrence Houle, a leading musician in the community. I also enclose copies of my letters to Chief Beaulieu of Ebb and Flow Reserve and to the principal of the Ebb and Flow School, Ebb and Flow, Manitoba.

Thanking you for your anticipated interest in this matter, I remain

Yours truly,

Mark Lea-McKeown, B.A.(Hons.), M.Ed., Ph.D.(in progress).

P.S. Research period with community members, 1975 - 1987, investigating music culture.
Proposed time in the school, December, 1986, and Spring, 1987.

FRONTIER SCHOOL DIVISION NO.48

DIVISION OFFICE

August 28, 1986

Mr. Mark Lea-McKeown
Department of Elementary Education
Education Building South
Faculty of Education
University of Alberta
~~Edmonton~~, Alberta
T6G 2G5

Dear Mr. Lea-McKeown:

Thank you for dropping in to see me recently to discuss the research you are conducting in Native Musical Cultural Education in the Ebb and Flow area.

It is quite clear from the material that you left with me that you already have the support of community leaders. All that appears to be required now is our permission for you to work with some of the children in the Ebb and Flow School. The people who would be responsible for discussing this with you and giving specific permission for work at the school will be the Ebb and Flow School Committee and the Area Superintendent who will consult with the school administration to determine the guidelines and detailed arrangements.

The Chairperson of the Ebb and Flow School Committee is Mrs. Alice Mancheese. She can be reached at (204) 448-2044 or Ebb and Flow, Manitoba, ROL ORO. The Area Superintendent responsible for Ebb and Flow School is Mr. Dave Yeo. His address is 121-1st Street S.W., Dauphin, Manitoba, R7N 1M9 and his telephone number is (204) 638-6839.

.../2

1402 NOTRE DAME AVENUE, WINNIPEG, MANITOBA R3E 3G5 (204) 775-9741

Mr. Lea-McKeown
Page 2
August 28, 1986

I must agree that very little research has been conducted in the area that you have chosen. It is my view that the information you gather could be of value to the community and to our Division and I am, therefore, urging support for your work from both the school committee as well as the Area Superintendent and school administration. Please refer any further communication in this matter directly to them.

Best wishes for success in your work.

Yours sincerely,

Strini Reddy

Strini Reddy
Chief Superintendent

SR/mls

c.c. Mr. Dave Yeo
Mr. Allen Havard
Mrs. Alice Mancheese

Department of Elementary Education
University of Alberta,
Edmonton, Alberta.
T6G 2G5
October 9th. 1986

Mr. David Yeo.
Area Superintendant,
Frontier School Division No.48,
121 - 1st Street S.W.,
Dauphin, Manitoba.
R7N 1M9

Re: Mark Lea-McKeown's doctoral dissertation research in native musical culture in education.

Dear Sir,

As Mr. Strini Reddy has indicated in his letter, I need your permission to conduct research at the Ebb and Flow School during December, 1986 and Spring, 1987.

The main research has been and will be conducted among the community members over a long period. Since there is no formal music education in the school, I would plan to be there for a limited time only with minimal disruption of normal classroom activities.

I would appreciate hearing from you soon as I would like to return to Ebb and Flow in December.

Yours truly,

Mark Lea-McKeown.

Enc. Letter from Mr. Strini Reddy, Chief Superintendant, Frontier School Division, No. 48.
Letter to the Chairman, Ebb and Flow School Committee.

**FRONTIER SCHOOL DIVISION NO.48**

**AREA II OFFICE**

October 17, 1986.

Mr. Mark Lea-McKeown,
Department of Elementary Education,
University of Alberta,
EDMONTON, Alberta.
T6G 2G5

Dear Mr. Lea-McKeown:

Thank you for your letter of October 9 with regard to the study at Ebb & Flow School. Please be advised that I would like to know the dates which you propose to carry out the study, the amount of time that you would be spending in the school, and in particular, the amount of time that you would require from staff and students.

I do not have a problem with the study per se but would appreciate the information requested prior to granting approval.

Yours sincerely,

David B. Yeo,
Area Superintendent.

DBY/mpz

**121-1st STREET S.W. DAUPHIN, MANITOBA R7N 1M9 638-6839**

**FRONTIER SCHOOL DIVISION NO.48**

**AREA II OFFICE**

November 14, 1986.

Mr. Mark Lea-McKeown,
Department of Elementary Education,
University of Alberta,
EDMONTON, Alberta.
T6G 2G5

Dear Mr. Lea-McKeown:

Thank you for your letter of October 31 with the details with regard to the amount of time that is required for your project. Please be advised that you may proceed as per your proposed dates and that the school will be expecting you. I would like to thank you for providing the information that I requested and to extend to you best wishes in your study.

Yours sincerely,

David Yeo

David B. Yeo, /mz
Area Superintendent.

DBY/mpz

**121-1st STREET S.W. DAUPHIN, MANITOBA R7N 1M9 638-6839**

Department of Elementary Education,
Faculty of Education,
University of Alberta.
T6G 2G5

August, 1986.

Mr Philip Coulter, Viceprincipal,
Mr. Harvard, Principal,
Ebb and Flow Reserve School,
Ebb and Flow, Manitoba.

Dear Sirs,

As I discussed over the phone with Mr. Coulter, I am a doctoral candidate in Education at the University of Alberta. I am doing my disseration research in native musical cultural education.

More specifically, I have been studying the socio-cultural activities of the people of Ebb and Flow since 1976 through participant observation, especially in the area of their musical tradition and current musical activities.

Many years of research and experience have indicated that traditionally based music cultural education is one of the most neglected areas of education. I do have many friends in the community and find that they, as well as local leaders and musicians, support this study.

In order to promote native education based on native musical culture and current practice I do need your authorization for investigation in the school.

My research plan has been and is as follows:-

1976 - 1987, participant observation in cultural musical activities.
1986 - 1987, observation of school students and investigation of native music education with elementary students, in order to conclude the study.
The grades that I would like to investigate are III - VI.

Thank you for your interest in this matter.

Yours truly,

Mark Lea-McKeown, B.A.(Hons.), M.Ed., Ph.D.(inprogress)

cc. Superintendant, Frontier School Division.

Enclosed: copy of letter to Chief Alfred Beaulieu
copy of letter from Lawrence (Teddy Boy) Houle to Chief Beaulieu.
copy of letter from the Manitoba Metis Federation to native leaders, educators, and people.

Department of Elementary Education,
Office 250 B, Education Building South
Faculty of Education,
University of Alberta.
Edmonton, ALBERTA.
T6G 2G5

January 6, 1987

Mr. Allen Havard, Principal,
Ebb and Flow School,
Ebb and Flow, Manitoba.
ROL ORO.

Dear Mr. Havard and staff of Ebb and Flow School,

Thank you very much for supporting my research in native music culture in education both in the community and at Ebb and Flow School during December, 1986. Please let the teachers know of my appreciation of their co-operation and give them my warm regards.

The assistance received from Mr. D.Woodcock, Miss S.Wimble, and counsellor Mrs. Ross, teachers who have musical knowledge, was most helpful. The native teachers, Mrs. Nora Houle and Mr. Brian Monkman, also contributed valuable information on native culture oriented education. I received the support of all the staff and thank them.

I have had the opportunity to discuss this research with several professionals at the Manitoba Department of Education who have expressed a keen interest in it. This interest is also evident at the university level and among native organizations.

Thank you also for permission to observe the itinerant music teacher's class and that of Mr. Woodcock and Miss Wimble in order to conclude my project at the end of April and the beginning of May, 1987, as these classes also relate to the socio-musical behaviour of the students.

My best wishes to you and your staff for the New Year. I will be seeing you in the spring.

Sincerely,

Mark Lea-McKeown, B.A. (Hons.), M.Ed., Ph.D.(Can.)

cc. Mr.David Yeo, Area II Superintendent, Frontier School Division # 48.

August 10th, 1986

Chief Alfred Beaulieu,
Ebb and Flow Reserve
Ebb and Flow, Manitoba,
ROL ORO

Dear Sir,

I am a doctoral (Ph.D.) student in education at the University of Alberta. Being a long time resident of Manitoba, and having spent the last two decades in participant observation in native people's social, educational, and especially musical culture, I have realized that they have a unique talent in the musical arts. The Ebb and Flow community has a unique style of music and has produced many great musicians such as Mr Del Garneau and Teddy Boy (Lawrence) Houle. These fiddlers and a great jig dancer, Mr Manuel Flett and the dance group from your community perfromed at the cultural and ethnic festival, Folklorama, at the Metis Pavilion in Winnipeg. I was a principle fiddler for this occaision and it was a great experience performing with them.

The music cultural education in native communities in Manitoba is a very neglected area and appropriate research is needed. In order to promote education in musical culture of native people in Manitoba, I would like to do research in your community the people having been friends of mine for a long time. I have already done some observational work in this area of study over the past decade among the people who are from Ebb and Flow Reserve by participating in their socio-cultural activities. In order to continue and conclude my work I need to do further work in the community. For this, I would like to have your permission to conduct research in the community.

I would like to plan to be in your community in December, 1986, and the spring and summer of 1987.

At the request of Mr Del Garneau, I will be participating in a New Year's Eve music performance for the dancers in your community.

Yours truly,

Mark Lea-McKeown

Enc. Letter from the Manitoba Metis Federation
- Letter from Mr Lawrence Houle.

Mark Lea-McKeown, B.A.(Hons), M.Ed.
Ph.D.(in progress)
Office 445, Depb. of Elementary Education
Faculty of Education,
University of Alberta.

Ebb and Flow Reserve
Ebb and Flow, Manitoba.
August 15th, 1986.

Chief Alfred Beaulieu,
Ebb and Flow Reserve,
Ebb and Flow, Manitoba.
ROL ORO

Re Mr.Mark Lea-McKeown, B.A.(Hons.), M.Ed., Ph.D.(in progress)
Doctoral dissertation research in education within our community.

Dear Alfred,

As I indicated Mark is a friend of mine and is well educated in many areas. He is a social scientist, cross-cultural educator and also a fine violinist and native style fiddler. He is well known to the native people of Manitoba and in western Canada. I have known him for many years and we performed together at the seventh annual Native American Bilingual Education Conference in Winnipeg, May, 1979 and at the Metis Pavilion at Folklorama, 1985 and 1986, as principle performers.

His chosen field is education, specialising in native culture, and teaching. It is extremely uncommon for a researcher to be able to perform native style music with such skill.

It is a great honour to have him, so well liked by the native people of Manitoba, in our community. I recommend him to you and encourage you to support his research work while in the community, trusting that you and the people will welcome him as a member of the family. I am confident that his work will contribute greatly to the promotion of native culture and education.

Hoping to see you soon.

Lawrence Houle

Lawrence (Teddy Boy) Houle.

cc. Mr Mark Lea-McKeown
Department of Elelmentary Education
Faculty of Education
University of Alberta,
Edmonton, Alberta
T6G 2E2

MANITOBA METIS FEDERATION INC.
WINNIPEG REGION
215 - 504 MAIN STREET
WINNIPEG, MANITOBA
R3B 1B8
PHONE 943-3214/3215

VICE PRESIDENT

August 13, 1986

Dear Native Leaders, Educators and
Native People of Manitoba

Re: Mr. Mark Lea-McKeown
Conducting Doctoral Dissertation Research
In Native Music Education in Manitoba

Mr. Mark Lea-McKeown is an anthropologist, cross-cultural educator and musician, as well as an excellent teacher specializing in native studies and education.

He is well known as a native style fiddler in native communities in Manitoba and other parts of Western Canada.

As an associate member of our Federation (Winnipeg Region) he performed fiddle music with Metis dancers at our First Metis Folklorama Pavillion last year and this year he is one of our principle fiddlers at the pavillion. Folklorama, an ethnic and cultural festival in Manitoba, is the largest of its kind in the world drawing a quarter of a million people of over a hundred ethnic origins during a one week period.

In order to promote native musical cultural education, I encourage your support of Mr. Lea-McKeown's research work at the University of Alberta and with native communities in Manitoba.

Yours truly,

Claire T Riddle

Manitoba Metis Federation Inc.

Claire T. Riddle
Vice-President
Winnipeg Region
Manitoba Metis Federation Inc.

CTR/ma

# APPENDIX C

# THE CHIEFS AND COUNCILLORS OF EBB AND FLOW

## CHIEFS AND COUNCILLORS - EBB AND FLOW BAND

(As extracted from annuity paylists and election records, courtesy of Ebb and Flow Band office.)

| **Chief** | **Councillors** | **Year** |
|---|---|---|
| Tenaisse, #20 | | 1875 |
| Penaisse, #32 | Baptiste Houle, #19<br>Keeneequanash, #24<br>* James Flett, #16<br>Pierre Houle, #20 | 1876 - 1882 |
| Penaisse died in 1882<br>Baptiste Houle | Jos. Beauchamp, Sr., #2<br>Keeneequanash<br>James Flett<br>Pierre Houle | 1883 & 1884 |
| Baptiste Houle | Jos. Beauchamp<br>James Flett<br>Keeneequanash<br>Pierre Houle | 1885 |
| Baptiste Houle | Keeneequanash<br>Pierre Houle | 1886 |
| Joseph Houle, #21 | Keeneequanash<br>Pierre Houle | 1887 |
| Joseph Houle, #21 | Pierre Houle<br>Keeneequanash<br>Moosequash, #31 | 1888 |
| Joseph Houle, #21 | As for 1888 | 1889 - 1892 |
| Joseph Houle, #21 | Pierre Houle<br>Moosequash<br>Jos. Beauchamp | 1893 |
| Joseph Houle, #21 | As for 1893 | 1894 |
| Joseph Houle, #21 | Pierre Houle<br>Moosequash<br>William Richard, #44<br>Jos. Beauchamp | 1895 |
| Joseph Houle, #21 | As for 1895 | 1896 - 1898 |
| Joseph Houle, #21 | Pierre Houle<br>William Richard | 1899 - 1907 |

| Chief | Councillors | Year |
|---|---|---|
| Joseph Houle | Pierre Houle, Jr., #54<br>Pierre Houle, Sr.,<br>William Richard | 1908 |
| Joseph Houle | Pierre Houle<br>William Richard | 1909 - 1913 |
| Joseph Houle | Pierre Houle<br>William Richard<br>Jos. Beauchamp, #65 | 1914 |
| Joseph Houle | As for 1914 | 1915 & 1916 |
| Joseph Houle | Pierre Houle<br>Jos. Beauchamp | 1917 |
| Joseph Houle | As for 1917 | 1918 to 1921 |
| | Joseph Beauchamp died in 1921<br>Pierre Houle resigned in 1921 | |
| Joseph Houle | William Mancheese, #63 | 1922 |

No chief or councillors indicated for 1923.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| John Baptiste Marcette, #55 | William Racette, #83 | 1925 |

The chief and councillors remained the same until 1930 when John Marcette resigned.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| William Mancheese | William Racette | 1930 |

The chief and councillors remained the same until 1938.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Abraham Houle, #96 | William Racette | 1940 |

In 1944 the chief and councillor were appointed to an indefinite term. William Racette resigned in 1946. William Mousseau replaced him.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Abraham Houle | William Mousseau, #100<br>Frances Baptiste, #121 | 1952 |
| Abraham Houle | Francis Maytwayashing, #121<br>Edward Houle, #120 | 1954 - 1956 |
| Peter Baptiste, #123 | Lucy Baptiste, #123<br>Arthur Malcolm, #154 | 1958 |
| Peter Baptiste, #123 | Lucy Baptiste<br>Willie Mancheese, #113<br>Willie Mousseau | 1960 |

| **Chief** | **Councillors** | **Year** |
|---|---|---|
| Willie Mancheese | * Alfred Beaulieu, #126<br>Jane Houle, #130<br>James Malcolm, #105 | 1962 |
| Alfred Beaulieu | Alice Mancheese, #180<br>Willie Mancheese<br>John St. Paul, #178 | 1964 |
| Alfred Beaulieu | * Donald Baptiste<br>Jane Houle<br>John St. Paul<br>Norbert St. Paul, #139 | 1966 |
| Alfred Beaulieu | Donald Baptiste<br>Gladys Malcolm<br>John St. Paul<br>Norbert St. Paul | 1968 |
| Alfred Beaulieu | Irene Houle, #128<br>James Mancheese, #161<br>Roy Houle, #133 | 1970 |
| James Mancheese | Howard Houle, #248<br>Joseph Baptiste, #230<br>Arnold Baptiste, #232<br>John St. Paul | 1972 |

The chief and councillors remained the same until 1976.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Peter Baptiste | Alfred Beaulieu<br>Donald Baptiste<br>Howard Houle<br>George Malcolm | 1976 |

The present chief is Alfred Beaulieu. Donald Baptiste is one of the Councillors.

## TABLE 6.10

## DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF EBB AND FLOW SCHOOL

## STAFF SAMPLE

| | | n = 13 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Number | (%) |
| Domicile | Ebb and Flow | 7 | 53.8 |
| | Other | 5 | 38.5 |
| | No Answer | 1 | 7.7 |
| Ancestry | Native Indian | 2 | 15.4 |
| | Other | 11 | 84.6 |
| Profession | Teacher | 7 | 53.8 |
| | Teacher and Musician | 3 | 23.1 |
| | Teacher, musician, native leader | 1 | 7.7 |
| | Musician | 1 | 7.7 |
| | No Response | 1 | 7.7 |
| Age | 18 - 25 | 5 | 38.5 |
| | 25 - 40 | 4 | 30.7 |
| | 40 - 60 | 4 | 30.7 |

## TABLE 6.11

## SCHOOL STAFF RESPONSES TO MUSIC QUESTIONS

| | | n = 13<br>Number | (%) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Perceptions of what constitutes Indian music | Fiddle | 6 | 46.2 |
| | Pow Wow | 6 | 46.2 |
| | Country, Western and Fiddle | 1 | 7.7 |
| Music most commonly heard in the community | Country and Western | 7 | 53.8 |
| | Fiddling | 4 | 30.8 |
| | No response | 2 | 15.4 |
| Music school staff would prefer to hear | Fiddling | 3 | 23.1 |
| | Country and Western | 3 | 23.1 |
| | Rock and other | 7 | 53.8 |
| Support for school music classes | Strong support | 11 | 84.6 |
| | Mild support | 1 | 7.7 |
| | No interest | 1 | 7.7 |
| Staff music training | Some | 7 | 53.8 |
| | None | 6 | 46.2 |